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THE

KINGS AND CABINETS OF EUROPE,

AND

THEIR VICTIMS.

BY A SWEDE.

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NATIONS OF EUROPE!

The following pages are addressed to you by one who, for many years has advocated the rights you are now so nobly vindicating, and who has spent a great part of his life in composing a History which depicts in true colors, the causes that for thousands of years have made you the victims of despotism.

Listen a moment to the voice of a true friend, who has taken much pains to make himself acquainted with your enemies as well as with both your real and your pretended friends, and you will be informed of the plans both of the former and of the latter; you will learn to know those persons on whom, in the ensuing struggle, you may confidently rely. But, in order to give you a clear insight into the designs of your enemies, and of the means by which you may attain that rational freedom you ought long since to have possessed, we must turn our eyes to what has taken place in Europe from that time, you were, by false promises and every artifice of deception, induced to lavish your blood in the fratricidal wars of 1813, 14, and 15.

Nothing may seem more false, yet, nothing is nevertheless more true, than that the cause of liberty and the principles of democracy suffered a most deplorable defeat, in the downfall of the imperial eagles of France. In consequence of the victory the princes and the aristocrats of Europe then gained over Napoleon —the champion of democracy, the friend of the people, and the formidable enemy of *legitimate* kings—the powerful foes of the people were enabled to trample under foot for fifteen years, no less those who were defeated than those who had been the instruments of their triumph. They who afterwards dared to ask for that freedom which had been so profusely promised, were punished with iron rods and treated with more rigor than if they had been the greatest of criminals.

Of all the schemes employed by princes, priests, and aristocrats, since the fall of the Roman Western empire, to crush the spirit of liberty in Europe, the most formidable was the *Alliance*

blasphemously called *Holy;* yet we are compelled in justice to say, that the humane feelings of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, and the earnest desire on the part of the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia to establish permanent peace, first induced these monarchs to conclude this alliance with a view to preserve Europe from the calamities of war. But being men of narrow minds and governed by prejudices, they regarded the French revolution of 1789, as the sole cause of all the misfortunes they had suffered, and of those to which Europe for twenty-five years had been exposed. They were, therefore, easily convinced by the crafty statesmen who were at the head of the aristocratic party on the continent of Europe, and to whose hands they had committed their affairs, that in order to preserve peace, it was necessary to guard against popular movements; such movements being said to be the most fertile sources of war, and apt not only to subvert the power of the legitimate monarchs, but to realize the *damnable* doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. Thus the confederation of these powerful princes, instead of being a blessing to mankind, diffusing happiness and prosperity wherever its influence was felt, became a curse which blasted the fruits which had already begun to blossom on the tree of liberty, and spread blight and barrenness to regions which had indulged a hope of political emancipation.

To the *doctrine of divine right*—the doctrine which insinuates that kings have received their power not from the people, but *directly* from God—that nations have no right to dethrone their rulers or restrain them by laws—such prominence was given as suited the views, or at least the interests of the aristocracy. This doctrine was the broad foundation upon which the Holy Alliance was established.

Eternal peace between the monarchs themselves and happiness to the people, were pronounced to be the great objects at which the illustrious members of the Holy Alliance aimed; but at the same time care was taken that the people should be taught not only to submit to the means, but also to consider them as the very best which the allied princes could employ in order to attain their *benevolent* and desirable purposes. But it was soon discovered what the people had to expect, notwithstanding all the specious arguments which were used, and all the fair promises which were held out. The liberty of the press was restrained, strict censorship was established, under which literary productions must pass, and personal persecutions were instituted against liberal writers who dared to stand forth in defence of the rights of the people, and against such persons as were even suspected of entertaining ideas favorable to freedom. Instructions were given to the most of the Cabinets of Europe, cautiously but effectively to suppress the principles of democracy; and they were informed

that they had to expect the aid of the Holy Alliance, in cases of popular movements or attempts to change the established order of public affairs.

The Holy Alliance promised the people happiness; but what happiness, and under what condition did the allied kings offer them this boon? We may imagine those grasping princes to have spoken thus—the expressions are ours—the spirit is theirs: "You men of the people must work by day and often by night, living as sparingly as possible, that you may be the better able to pay the taxes which we are pleased to impose upon you. You must believe everything which writers, bought by us and paid with your money, choose to tell you. You must have implicit confidence in our wisdom, and in those who stand around the thrones which God has given to us and to our children for an everlasting possession. You must look upon our servants, and the children of the servants of our royal ancestors, as being worthy of your highest reverence, whose privileges and prerogatives it were sacrilege to violate. You must consider yourselves happy—yes, very happy in being permitted by your obedience to the laws which we may promulgate for your guidance—to give us proofs of your loyalty; and that you may have new causes to rejoice, we hereby inform you that we—the gods of wars upon the earth,—have resolved to live in peace with each other, at least for a while, and that we therefore in the meantime, dispense with your services as blood-hounds; always reserving the right to have your sons drilled by our nobles, with lashes—that when we are disposed to amuse ourselves with martial tragedies, they may act the part of puppets with honor to our sovereign selves. Slaves, hearken! Forget not that you are sentenced to eternal thraldom, else we will inflict upon you your due punishment. Listen not to men who speak of freedom, on pain of death. Remember that it is yours to sow the seed—ours to reap the harvest. Work, therefore, and pay the taxes, as God in the laws directs, and be grateful that you are permitted to breathe."

Notwithstanding all this, the Holy Alliance was viewed by the European nations, excepting by a few sagacious individuals, as the greatest advantage to humanity in general, and to Europe in particular. Moreover, this conviction was corroborated by the high repute in which the private virtues of the most of the confederated princes, and especially those of the Emperor Alexander, were universally held. Besides, it is so very natural that we believe in what we hope for. But experience soon taught us something quite the reverse to our expectation; yet the innate love of freedom rendered noble minds inaccessible to fear, and many resolved to defy the wrath of those at whose nod millions of executioners would stand forth. Many rose in defence of the violated rights, but those glorious champions of liberty were soon

crushed by the well-trained forces of the confederated princes. Austria executed the sentence passed upon the sons of sunny Italy by artful and unscrupulous politicians and weak kings. And, alas! France, forgetting for a time her duty, was led on by the Bourbons and their creatures, to crush the young spirit of freedom which had begun to gather strength in Spain. The generous friends of human rights became the objects of general persecution throughout Europe. Suspicions gave birth to tyranny, and fear of revenge demanded new victims. The Liberals were dragged to prison and condemned to endure the most barbarous severities. Some were imprisoned for life, or for many years, in the most frightful dungeons; others were exposed in the pillories, as if it were possible to degrade by such measures noble-minded men. Some were exiled from their native country or sent to galleys; others were driven to the wilderness of Siberia, and many were led to the scaffold to expiate with their blood the heinous crime of loving to be free.

Thus in consequence of the maxims of the Holy Alliance and the German confederation, which latter was built upon equally despotic principles as the former, enormous sufferings were inflicted upon bleeding Europe; but nevertheless, there were writers, and very many too, even of eminent abilities, who were profuse in their praises of these diabolical associations of princes for the suppression of freedom. Much cause as we have to blame the allied monarchs and their ministers, and the aristocratic party as a whole, we have far more reason to express our detestation of men who, from their literary acquirements, ought to have had full knowledge of their criminality, but who, notwithstanding, dishonored themselves, and disgraced human nature, by advancing arguments in favor of despotism—arguments which they must have been fully aware to be inconsistent with reason, justice, and humanity. But the favors of princes, the gracious smiles of statesmen, the insidious familiarity of courtiers, and pecuniary bribes of wealthy aristocrats, were irresistible temptations to the vain, the weak, and the venal; and on the other hand, the revengeful persecution of the powerful, the versatility of popularity, and the scanty provision which liberty generally makes for her champions, were strong inducements to the cowardly, the interested, and the luxurious, to desert the standard of freedom. It need not, therefore, surprise us that so many hundreds, nay, thousands—and among them so many distinguished men—should have brought their offerings to the temples where vain-glorious kings were worshipped as gods, and there sacrificed on the altars of irrationality and despotism.

It would be unjust to accuse the politicians who planned the Holy Alliance, and the German Confederation, of bloody designs; and still more unjust it would be to impute such inten-

tions to all the monarchs themselves. But having built a political system upon despotic principles and selfishness, without the least regard to the just claims of the people; and having appropriated to themselves a power incompatible with the rights of man, and suitable ideas of his dignity, they had little reason to expect implicit obedience. But by sophistical reasoning, or confidence in their own infallibility, they resolved to view all disapproval of their principles and actions, as criminal—to declare every attempt at opposing their will, high treason—and every resolution of the people to limit the power of their rulers, rebellion. Thinking themselves accordingly justified in punishing every such offence, they were involved by degrees in a series of enormities which compare with the most atrocious deeds of the worst tyrants of antiquity; and which will compel the impartial historian to hand down to posterity the names of so many exalted persons of our time, with imperishable infamy.

None of the European tyrants of latter times was more despicable, and deserves more our condemnation, than Ferdinand VII., who, as soon as he had returned from his captivity in France, hastened to teach the Spaniards how foolish they had been to sacrifice their blood in his cause, and in that of monks and aristocrats. It was, however, very natural to those who were unacquainted with the principles and the ingratitude of royalty in general, to suppose that Ferdinand, on his return would feel inclined and obliged to surround himself by the champions of his pretended right to the Spanish throne, and of the independence of Spain. But those who entertained such thoughts, soon became aware that Ferdinand was determined to follow the dictates of a different policy. Selfish, narrow-minded, ungenerous, and bigoted, or hypocritical, as he was, he felt no inclination to sacrifice a jot of his pretended prerogatives—or those of the priests and monks who ruled his cowardly heart—to the just claims of the true friends in behalf of the Spaniards. He viewed their terrible struggle against the forces of Napoleon in no other light than as an absolute duty, incumbent upon them in vindication of his violated rights. The word liberty, which so frequently had been used to excite the Spaniards to incessant efforts against the French, was interpreted as signifying the absolute power of the king, and the still more despotic one of the priesthood; and all who would not admit the justice of this interpretation, were deemed by Ferdinand and his counsellors as rebellious subjects, worthy of severe punishment.

The first step of Ferdinand on his return to Spain, was to prove that he was determined to reign, not as a constitutional king, whose right to the throne was founded upon the will of the people, but as a master over slaves, who were his lawful inheritance, and whose attempts to prescribe him laws, were crimes

which their former devotion in his cause would not in the least excuse. It then became manifest that many of the nobles, and the clergy in general, but particularly the monks, had excited the Spaniards to make war against Joseph Napoleon; not because his mounting the Spanish throne had infringed the independence of Spain, but because he had broken asunder the fetters by which the nobility and the clergy had kept the people of Spain in corporeal and spiritual slavery. The king and the privileged classes began to conspire together, to quench the sparks of liberty which the war of independence had kindled in Spain. In order to accomplish this abominable plan, Ferdinand refused, under various frivolous pretences, to go to Madrid, and take the oath to support the constitution of 1812, and assembled in Valencia, under the command of that monster, General Ellio, an army of 45,000 executioners. Surrounded by this formidable power, he openly avowed his real sentiments, and declared, by a decree of the 4th of May, 1814, the constitution of 1812 annulled. Aided by the priesthood, who imposed upon the ignorance of the people, despotism won an easy victory over the friends of freedom. It became now evident, that with the exception of a small number, the Spaniards had fought against Joseph Napoleon, not in the cause of liberty, but in that of their tyrants.

From Valencia, Ferdinand sent out his bands of privileged murderers, who, instigated by the blasphemous war-whoops of the monks, sallied forth with more than brutal ferocity, in persecution of the Constitutionalists, and killed without mercy all those who came within their reach. Scarcely six thousand of the noblest men in Spain, and among them the heroic Mina, were able to save their lives by seeking refuge in foreign countries. The English Tory ministry and the confederated princes, who had hypocritically exhorted the people of Europe to rise in defence of liberty against Napoleon, took not a single step in defence of those brave Spaniards, who had contributed so much to the defeat of the imperial forces, but saw with indifference how they were butchered, or exiled on the command of an infamous king, and by the instigation of villanous priests. But it was no wonder, because we now know that the allied monarchs, and the British ministers, in despite of their high-sounding declarations of love of liberty, hated nothing so much as this word, when it was claimed as the property of a nation, and that nothing was in their eyes deserving of a severer punishment, than the avowal of such a pretension.

Every measure was then taken to reduce the Spaniards to that contemptible state, from which their mistaken but heroic efforts against the reign of Joseph Napoleon, had for a while aroused them. But after having crushed the liberals, Ferdinand was himself rendered the slave of the Camarilla, the notorious combination

of his nearest attendants. They, as generally is the case with courtiers, gloried arrogantly in their triumph, not the least suspecting that liberty would drive them from their stronghold. But they were on a sudden rendered conscious of the power of this deity, whom they had so cruelly treated and so stupidly scorned.

The brave Colonel Quiroga, and the chivalrous Rafael del Riego, put themselves at the head of the troops which were to be sent from Spain, to subdue the freedom of the Spanish colonies in South America, taking the glorious resolution rather to attempt the deliverance of the Spanish people from the tyranny of a monk-ridden king, than to extend his despotic powers over those, who, sword in hand, had made themselves free. This generous resolution was for a while followed by the most happy consequences. In general, the Spanish people embraced the cause of freedom, and without being able to make scarcely any resistance, the king was obliged to swear adherence to the constitution. Every true patriot hoped that this revolution of 1820, would restore the happiness, and also, to a great extent, the ancient lustre of Spain. But the malady was too deeply rooted to be checked by such an easy cure ; and besides the patient was not permitted to be left in the hands of his proper physicians—the most enlightened friends of liberty among the Spaniards themselves. The only means to heal the wounds of Spain, was rational liberty ; but this means was viewed by the members of the Holy Alliance—the self-constituted tutors of the European people—as the grossest violation of the rights of princes, and thus deserving of the severest chastisement.

It must also be acknowledged that the Spaniards, in general, by their superstition and their ignorance, were then very unfit to make a proper use of liberty ; and it appears, it is the will of Providence that the generation which saw the revolution of 1820, should vanish from the earth before Spain will come in possession of the heavenly gift of a tranquil enjoyment of a free form of government.

The superstitious tenets which the priests in general, from their ignorance and self-interests, inculcated in the minds of the people the culpable habits of the monks, the examples of their lazy life, had, in conjunction with the terrible consequences of the despotism of the Inquisition, and of the insatiable thirst after the riches of South America,—by degrees, in the course of the last centuries, corrupted the national character. Superstition made the people tremble for the wrath of wretched monks; ignorance prevented them from perceiving their true interests; idleness had changed their natural generosity into ferocious rapacity; and their inferiority in discipline and experience in the struggle with the French, had degraded their proud and manly bravery to the abominable temerity of assassins. Add to this

a revengefulness which nothing but blood could satisfy, and you must concede that they bore within themselves seeds enough for producing the most atrocious acts of internal discord. The powerful enemies of freedom, fully acquainted with this deplorable state, resolved, without the least remorse, to take advantage of it, and thus forward their own detestable interests; their congenial friends, the Bourbons, made France the instrument of executing their purpose.

Soon after the opening of the Cortes, the 6th of July, 1820, it was very evident that many intrigues were at work, not only on the part of the king and the priests, but also on that of foreign powers, the object of which was to hinder the true patriots from effecting any good. The Spaniards became, by these means, divided into two great parties—the Absolutists and the Constitutionalists. On the side of the former were ranged despotism, prerogatives, prejudices, ignorance, superstition, and priestcraft, confiding in the promises of the members of the Holy Alliance; and on that of the latter, justice, humanity, knowledge, the sacred rights of man, love of liberty, and superior talents, animated by the lately acquired victory. But the contending parties soon appealed from words to arms, as the most effective means of deciding the question. The better cause at first proved victorious, and the brave Mina compelled the soldiers of the faith, as the Absolutists were called, to seek refuge in France; but when the contemptible government of that country, in conformity with the resolution of the Holy Alliance, joined its valiant warriors with the beaten soldiers of the faith, then the cause of despotism and priestcraft triumphed again.

To the eternal disgrace of Spain, history has to relate that 100,000 French, under the command of the Duke of Angouleme, were permitted, without any glorious resistance, to conquer its liberty, and lay itself bound at the feet of a perjured king and merciless priests—a new proof that it was not noble love of freedom which had animated the plurality of the Spaniards, the degenerated descendants of glorious ancestors, to brave the experienced soldiers of Napoleon. Nay, infuriated by superstition and the artifices of the monks, and slaves of their own blindness, they had rushed, as madmen, headlong in the most desperate battles, but without deserving to be honored as glorious champions of liberty. And there are monks among the Spaniards frank enough to acknowledge, that the contest against Napoleon was less a struggle for freedom, than for the sake of the *Holy Virgin*—that is, for the interests of the clergy.

A long list of unheard-of sufferings first opened the eyes of the Spaniards to the great folly of having spilled their blood in the cause of the eternal enemies of freedom; and many of them, who most violently opposed the good-natured Joseph Napoleon,

have since acknowledged their errors, and cursed those vampyres of Spain—the myriads of hypocritical priests and licentious friars, who led them astray. But this is only one of the innumerable instances we meet with in history, where nations have been led into furious outbreaks against their well-wishers, and have been cajoled with open arms to receive those who where to bind them with shameful chains.

The French, cheated by the prospect of the military glory they were to acquire, overlooked how ignominiously they were treated by the Holy Alliance and the Bourbons, by being made the instruments of reducing the Spaniards to slavery, marched through Spain in triumph, and compelled the Constitutionalists, who had taken to their last refuge in Cadiz, to restore to the king his absolute power. The first use the wretched Ferdinand made of it was to break his oath, and to declare all the decrees which were passed between the 7th of March, 1820, and the 11th of October, 1823, null and void. Now the bloody persecutions against the Liberals began again; and it must not be forgotten, to the honor of the French army of invasion, that those of the Spaniards who then were hunted as wild beasts, found in the French warriors effective protection against the enormous outrages of the most bloodthirsty among the Absolutists. It is here to be observed, that the Tories, who continued the ruling party in England, took not a step to prevent the invasion of Spain by the French; and hence we may be assured that these aristocrats never have cared for the liberty of Spain.

In order to keep the Constitutionalists from gathering strength, a French army of 45,000 men remained in Spain; but experience soon rendered it evident, that the king had less to fear from the Liberals than from the most furious among the Absolutists. This party then became divided into two factions, viz.: the one consisting of those who thought it most proper to use the victory with some moderation, and the other formed by those, who driven by fanaticism and an insatiable thirst after blood, cried for revenge, inquisition, and the Jesuits. The former remained faithful to the king; but the latter, contending that his measures were too mild, and that he, by the insidious counsels of the French, had been prevailed upon to sacrifice the rights of the throne and of the church, viewed Don Carlos, Ferdinand's brother, as a more fit instrument for realising their infernal plans, and therefore took the resolution, in violation of their own acknowledged principles, to attempt to dethrone the king.

It is easy to form an idea how violent the intentions of the Carlists were, when we know that even the abominable severity with which Ferdinand treated the Liberals, was not enough to satisfy their revenge against this party—but, that in consequence of their displeasure with the king's too great forbearance,

as they said, with the friends of freedom, they took up arms against his authority. Only by the most cruel measures was General d'Espagna—a man fit for similar barbarities—able to suppress the revolt in Catalonia, in which the chief actors, or at least instigators, were priests and monks—the declared friends of Don Carlos. Ferdinand, however, viewing his brother as the principal cause of these seditions, contracted against him an implacable hatred, and resolved to take ample revenge by excluding him from the succession of the throne. Though his motive cannot be approved of, the fact itself deserves praise, because Don Carlos was quite unworthy of the purple. It is generally believed that his revengeful feeling against his brother was Ferdinand's principal inducement to his fourth and last marriage, with a view of obtaining an heir to his diadem. His youthful Queen, the Neapolitan Princess Maria Christina, accomplished in part his wishes, by giving birth to a daughter in 1830. But as the Salic-law, which regulated the succession in Spain, excludes females from the inheritance of the throne—so long as a male relative of the deceased king exists—Ferdinand declared this law void, and his daughter his lawful successor. Thus he did all in his power to satisfy his hatred; and this act, originating from such an impure fountain, was perhaps the only one, which, during the whole course of his contemptible life, merits universal approbation.

I will not speak of the attempts of the Italians to regain their independence; because, glorious as these attempts were for a small number of heroic friends of freedom, they were not supported by the great majority of the people of Italy in a manner worthy of praise. But a noble nation cannot long bear with patience the just reproach of cowardice. We will, therefore, undoubtedly now see how the Italians, by valorous deeds in vindication of their rights, will blot out from the pages of history the infamy which they have deserved by enduring so long the yoke of arrogant foreigners.

The attempts at establishing freedom in Spain and Italy being frustrated, the cause of princes and aristocrats bore a triumphant aspect. But, nevertheless, there is much reason to presume, that the Emperor Alexander himself, before his death, was made sensible that he was pursuing a very wrong course. The noble sentiments which unquestionably had their dwelling in his breast, had neither by self-conceit, nor by the artful insinuations of cunning and unscrupulous politicians, been quite stifled; and there is some reason to think, that this powerful monarch fell a victim of an internal struggle between his better feelings and his false fear of dishonoring himself by altering the course of policy he had been led to pursue. Poor reparation for all the sufferings he had caused humanity, by having listened to his own prejudices, and the subtle persuasions of interested aristocrats! but nevertheless

deserving to be *sounded* in the ears of his energetic successor—that consummate despot who now wields the imperial sceptre of Sarmatia.

At the death* of the Emperor, the cause of freedom appeared almost hopeless in Europe: Prussia, Germany, Italy, and Spain lay at the feet of their rulers. In the Chamber of Deputies in France only seventeen champions of liberty could be numbered; and the gracious smiles of Charles X.—the new king—were but fraudulent snares, the easier to bring a too generous nation into abject slavery. The English, cheated as they always have been by the Tories, were allowed to glory in imaginary freedom, while starved to death by these merciless robbers, the rough gripe of whom the Irish felt in their very hearts. Holland had seen its king turn a merchant, busy in accumulating immense wealth, and were taught to repent the blameable folly of presenting a diadem to the family of Orange. Portugal, after enjoying a gleam of liberty, was the prey of two royal factions. In the so-called free cities, Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfort-on-Maine, and Lubeck, moneyed aristocrats and merchant kings ruled with unlimited sway, under protection of the German Confederation, and in the shadow of the Holy Alliance. Switzerland, divided into many different parties, was partly subjected to the sway of aristocrats, and partly enjoyed a very precarious liberty, more as a particular grace of the monarchs, than in consequence of any conceded right. The children of Hellas—the heroic descendants of the nobility of mankind—had spoken of freedom and bravely fought against tyranny; therefore the ears of the monarchs were closed against their supplicating prayers. Denmark, without any protection against despotism, but the liberal spirit of its inhabitants, and the patriarchal sentiments of its old king, was, however, in the enjoyment of a proportionally great liberty. Sweden and Norway alone supported their old renown of being the homes of freedom. The indomitable spirit of the Swedish peasantry was a sure guarantee of the ancient liberty of the Swedes; and Norway was in possession of the most rational constitution in the world.

But according to the principles of the Holy Alliance, the people were not only to be deprived of the right to frame their own laws, but the less powerful princes were also to be prohibited extending the liberty of their own subjects. Thus, some of these princes of Germany and Italy, who appeared willing to accede to the just claims of the nations over whom they ruled, were prevented from accomplishing their own praiseworthy inclinations.

The cruel punishments which had been inflicted upon the generous patriots of Italy, the continual persecutions of the Liberals

* 1825, near Taganrog, on the Azow Sea.

in Germany, and the fear for France, and the influence of the priests in Spain, kept at that time these people in awe; but the Russians showed, unexpectedly, some signs of reluctance any longer to be treated as brutes. The Emperor Alexander had appointed his brother Nicholas as his successor; thus passing by the elder brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, who however for one or other reasons, had assented to this arrangement. Some of the troops in St. Petersburg, taking pretext of this irregularity in succession, declared themselves shortly after the death of the Emperor Alexander, resolved not to acknowledge the authority of his brother Nicholas, and proclaimed Constantine emperor: but it was afterwards proved, that their real design had been to limit, if not quite to abrogate, the imperial power. Nicholas was, however, able by his daring spirit, and the courageous conduct of his younger brother Michael, aided by superior forces which remained faithful to him, to quench the flame of insurrection. Some German writers tell us, that the victorious Nicholas treated "the seduced troops very mildly. Only some of the leaders underwent capital punishment, and the rest of them were sent to Siberia." True; but it must be observed that good care was taken that the leaders should almost equal in numbers their followers, and besides, the most of the soldiers who had raised the standard of freedom had, bravely fighting, been killed in the combat. Some have contended that this opposition to the imperial authority was bred by the aristocratic party, and some that it had a democratic aiming;—both are in the right, because there were both aristocrats and democrats among the conspirators; but the soldiers in general acted from the impulse of the innate love of freedom in man, being desirous to liberate themselves, under some plausible pretext, from the intolerable discipline to which they were subjected.

It was very likely that the averse feelings which the Emperor Nicholas, in consequence of his education, exalted station, and imperious disposition, bore to liberty, received a new portion of gall, by his having been obliged to quench, at the peril of his own life, a spark of that fire he had so much reason to suppose to be totally extinguished in the breasts of the Russians. But be this as it may, unquestionable it is, that liberty saw in this monarch the most formidable enemy in latter times. He joins in his person great parts, extensive capacity, personal bravery, inflexible perseverance, unrelenting severity, unlimited power over the most formidable military force on the earth, excepting that of France, and the firmest resolution to support the pretended rights of the kings and the principles of the Holy Alliance. But his succession to the throne of Russia was not only a cause of mourning to liberty, but Metternich himself—the inveterate enemy of freedom, the most experienced and most subtle of all living states-

men, and conscious as he certainly was of his eminent abilities, of his deep sagacity, and his persuasive ingenuity, of his judicious keenness, of his perfect knowledge of every spring in the complicated machine of European politics, and of his immense influence upon the most powerful cabinets, and upon the whole aristocratic party of Europe, and being thus the real ruler over the mighty empire of Austria—showed apparent signs of the greatest consternation at the news, that Nicholas was to succeed his brother to the throne; and I know from a person on whose judgment I can depend, that the consternation of Metternich was an evidence that he prognosticated something very unpleasant and dangerous from the new Emperor of Russia.

This was no wonder, because Prince Metternich knew perfectly well the qualities and the character of Nicholas, and he was too sagacious not to perceive that he could never hope to exercise the same influence upon him, as he had done on the weak and flexible mind of Alexander; and that it was very uncertain what course such an aspiring man would pursue, but that it was very likely he would not be satisfied only by being a member of the Holy Alliance, but would also endeavor to make the other confederated Princes subordinating under his absolute will. Consequently the veteran politician, who already before had shown much jealousy of the power of Russia, and even had thwarted some of Alexander's political plans, now began to take many secret but efficacious steps to counteract the anticipated ambitious designs of the new Autocrat. Thus the enemies of freedom had no more an entire confidence in each other, and became from that time less formidable to the friends of liberty.

That the sagacious Minister of Austria had not been mistaken in his opinion of the ambition of Nicholas, was proved by the artful, subtle, and secret means by which the Russian Cabinet sought to rouse the jealousy of the smaller princes of Germany against Austria, and to insinuate into them the persuasion, that it was the most conformable with their interests to put the German Confederation under the protection of a foreign powerful monarch, and that the most fit was the Russian Emperor, who never could have the remotest thought of rendering them subservient to his will; but who would be the most able to defend them against the aspiring plans of the house of Austria. The Russian diplomats displayed in these negotiations surprising skill; and the language in which the Russian notes to the German Princes of the second and third rank were couched in regard to this subject, bear the most artful garb. But Metternich was not asleep. Counterpoise, prepared with equal skill, was instantly administered by his agents, who spoke of a common fatherland—of the barbarous manners of the Russians—of the unbounded ambition of Nicholas—of the destruction of *German liberty*, by permitting any foreign prince, and

principally the Russian Autocrat, to meddle in the affairs of Germany—of the disinterestedness of Austria, and the great importance that all the Germanic Princes should live in the most intimate and confidential friendships with each other. The consequence of these opposite negotiations was, that the affairs apparently remained in *statu quo*, though it was evident that the Russian diplomats succeeded so far as to weaken somewhat the influence of Austria in Germany; but what must not be left unnoticed, is, that from that time the most of the German princes, as the Germans in general since 1813 had done, began to look upon Prussia as the chief support of the independence of the German States. Prussia has afterwards made a good use of this disposition in forming its Commercial League, and the king of that country is now building on the same most ambitious plans.

The momentary disharmony and mutual jealousy between the Austrian and Russian Cabinets, and the ambitious designs of the Emperor Nicholas in regard to Turkey, are to be accounted for as the chief causes, that the Autocrat listened to the persuasions of the noble Canning, and joined England and France—the government of the latter country not longer daring in this particular to defy the wishes of the French—in concluding the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, whose aim was to effect the liberation of the Greeks from the Turkish yoke. This deviation from the principles of the Holy Alliance, on the side of the Russian Emperor and the King of France, the former might perhaps have hoped to atone by rendering Hellas, in the course of time, a part of his own dominions; and the latter would reasonably excuse this deviation from the established rules before his allies, by pleading it being necessary in order to avoid an internal rebellion in France. But when the gallant Codrington put the glorious seal—the battle of Navarino*—on this treaty, then the generous soul of its framer† soared high over the triumphant streamers of the allied fleets. The renowned hero‡ of the aristocrats did not like victories in the cause of freedom,§ therefore the English Admiral, instead of receiving due praise, was blamed, and removed from his commission; but the battle he and the French and Russian commanders jointly won over the Turkish fleet, and which was the happy consequence of Canning's noble policy, is justly to be considered as the chief cause of the independence of Greece. The Russian Emperor must have viewed the victory of Navarino as very convenient, because he tarried not half a year afterwards

* The 20th of October, 1827.

† Canning died on the 16th of August preceding.

‡ Wellington became premier in January, 1828, after the resignation of Lord Goderich, who for a short time succeeded Canning in his place.

§ They who think that the unfeeling Wellington fought in Spain, as a champion of freedom, ought to read the immortal work of Colonel, now Major-General Napier, of the Peninsular War.

ere he declared war against the weakened Sultan; but first the bravery of the Turks and then the mediation of Metternich,—who had opened a negotiation with the other great European Powers in order to form a combination against Russia,—saved Turkey at that time from being made a province of Russia. The Emperor Nicholas thought it most wise, under the pretence of great moderation on his part, to conclude with the Sultan the peace of Adrianople, Sept. 14th, 1829.

By the arrival of a French army under the command of a veteran soldier of Napoleon, General Maison at Morea, the chief of the Turkish force there, Ibrahim Pacha, the able son of Mehemet Ali of Egypt, soon found himself obliged to evacuate Greece. By this incident, and by the disorderly state of the Turkish affairs in consequence of the war with Russia, the Divan of Constantinople saw itself obliged to accede to the treaty of July 6th, 1827, and Greece was thus, on the 3d of February, 1830, acknowledged as an independent State.

The ideas we have of the rights of the people, assure us that it belonged solely to the Greeks themselves, to give them that Constitution and that form of government that they themselves thought most fit. But a contrary opinion was entertained by those who had power to enforce much that was yet more opposite to justice and common sense; consequently the Greeks were obliged to acknowledge a boy, prince Otho of Bavaria, as their illustrious monarch. It seems very likely that the statesmen who chiefly decided this affair, would make it evident how little important it was whether kings were men of ability or only fit to occupy themselves with play toys. I would fain have read the flaming strains in which the generous Byron would have indulged his indignant soul, had he lived to see the heroes of Greece ranged in court robes around the throne of an infant king. But alas! the sublime bard of freedom laid silent in his tomb! To punish those who had obliged the Greeks to receive purple in exchange for liberty, was not a glory which Walter Scott and Southey were anxious to acquire.

It is a ridiculous idea that liberty cannot exist under monarchial as well as under republican forms of government. Experience and reason bear evidence that freedom can flourish under the one as well as under the other of these forms; but if the people have not liberty to give themselves that form of government they themselves think most suitable for them, then they are slaves of whatever immunities they may be in possession; because these are then only voluntary gifts of their masters, and consequently it depends solely upon them to put a period to their duration. Therefore, the Greeks, in conformity with the principles of the Holy Alliance, were not permitted to determine themselves their own form of government. Besides, it was greatly feared that a

contrary proceeding would be a precedent, and a cause for other nations to think, that the European princes had conceded that any such thing as the sovereignty of the people ever existed in the world.

The Tory ministry who stood at the head of the English affairs at the conclusion of the Holy Alliance, had not openly dared to join it, but they had nevertheless been privy to the objects of their powerful friends on the continent; and they did all in their power to oppose the just claims of the people of England and Ireland. Thus, these rulers, over a so-called free nation, had with indifference, nay, most probably with much satisfaction, seen how the whole continent of Europe—with the exception of Portugal, which had been left in the hands of the faithful Beresford, who by inflicting death on Gomez D'Andrade, the noble champion of liberal ideas, had given a pledge of his Tory principles—was subjected to the guardianship of the cabinets of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, and later even of that of Paris. The friends of freedom in Europe were thus deprived of all powerful aid, and had consequently, since the foundation of the Holy Alliance, suffered defeats in all their attempts at establishing liberty in that part of the world. But the enemies of humanity seemed however not satisfied with what they had already accomplished. By the aid of the aristocratical party in Italy, Germany, and England, Don Miguel was enabled to begin and pursue that career, which has covered his name with imperishable infamy; and the king of France, overcome by his own hatred of liberty and by the advice of the foolish and narrow-minded persons who enjoyed his favor, committed the egregious error to discard the Martignac ministry* who favored the just claims of the French —and to appoint† as their successors, men of the most irrational and despotic principles, at the head of whom the stubborn aristocrat, Prince Polignac, stood.

The minds of men had in some years generally in Europe, undergone a complete change. The artifices of the statesmen could no longer cover the gross deceptions which had been practised upon the people, first to rouse them to seek for liberty in the defeat of Napoleon, and then to submit to the terrible and dishonorable tyranny of weak kings, of unfeeling and deceitful statesmen, of illustrious fools and decorated knaves. It was now evident that the Holy Alliance had done all in its power to oppress the people, and that no good could be expected from its members. The contemptible advocates of the divine right of princes and of the duty of the people to pay absolute obedience to their rulers, and of similar absurdities, were no more the

* Martignac had succeeded the notorious Villèle,—a man of some capacity but of narrow views—as premier on the 9th of January, 1828.

† The 18th of November, 1829.

oracles of the day; and neither elegance of words nor subtlety in reasoning, could longer supply the deficiency of sincerity. Mirabeau was no longer considered a devil, nor Vergniaud a vampyre, nor La Fayette a traitor. Reason and truth began, again to sway the minds of men, and neither the tricks of the diplomats, nor the sophistical arguments of their hired panegyrists could longer blindfold the eyes of the multitude. They who had suffered for liberal ideas and in the cause of freedom, were no longer looked upon as madmen or criminals; but these noble-minded men began to be viewed as victims, not of blameable designs, but of despotism. Every generous heart burned in expectation to participate in the deliverance of Europe from a dishonorable thraldom.

But the Russians were kept in continual servitude by scourges and brutal ignorance; the Italians by fear of Austrian bayonets; the Spaniards by executioners and priestcraft. The united forces of a legion of princes—repeated persecutions against the liberals —the most artful web of diplomatic skill—an innumerable host of aristocrats—and, besides, their natural slowness rendered the Germans unfit by daring steps to break the established order of the public affairs. A mixture of superstitious reverence for, and praiseworthy obedience to their old laws and institutions; the deceitful bred and firmly entertained persuasion generally among themselves that they were really in enjoyment of a higher degree of liberty than all other European people, and their custom to give vent to their complaints more in speeches than in actions, withheld the English from violent means against the terrible oppressions of the aristocratic party, to which they were in reality subjected; and the Irish were, by the superior forces of their callous oppressors, obliged to submit to the wrongs which daily were heaped on them. But the time was come, when the patience of the French to bear injuries and insults were exhausted—and Europe had once again to thank that generous nation for a glorious example how to crush the fetters of slavery. The courtiers who, to insinuate themselves in the favor of the royal family, had under sottish laughter, sought to ridicule the noble efforts of the magnanimous Benjamin Constant, of the brave Foy, and of many other friends of liberty; the aristocrats who had scornfully spoken of La Fayette and Carnot, and who had uttered so much contempt against the upstarts, who had covered France with eternal glory; and the superstitious or hypocritical priests who surrounded the throne of Charles X., and for temporal designs had dared to pretend to have in their sinful hands the keys of heaven, and who had abused a thus blameably acquired influence over the conscience of the bigoted king to induce him to refuse to listen to the claims of a noble nation—

these all were unexpectedly roused from the sleep of security in which their own prejudices, self-interests, and blindness had lulled them, and the voice of liberty scattered them as the whirlwind the awns.

At the meeting of the French Chambers, March 2nd, 1830, the king, in his speech from the throne, complained much of the prevailing spirit of discontent among certain factions, whose blameable designs were to subvert the authority of the crown, and thus to destroy the surest guaranty for the happiness of the people; and exhorted the Chambers to assist him in the measures he was resolved to pursue to give security to the throne, and thus, in the most efficacious way to promote the welfare of the nation. But it was soon observed that a disposition contrary to what was wished for prevailed in the Chamber of Deputies; therefore the king first prorogued both Chambers to the 1st Sept., and then on the 16th of May dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, ordered elections of members for a new one, and both the Chambers to meet on the 3d of August. In a proclamation, the king, to excuse the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, pretended that its members, by opposing the useful plans he by his Ministers had proposed for the general good, and by misrepresentations of his intentions, had wounded him as *father* of his people, and offended him as king; and he promised the preservation of the Charter, but desired, in view to be able to do so, that the prerogatives of the crown should be respected. But the French were not again to be deceived by such artifices; they were perfectly aware on which side the wrong was, and the press was not wanting in its duty to animate the electors nobly to perform their obligations, and return such members as were willing to oppose the treacherous designs of the Ministry against the liberty of the people. The whole of France was in the greatest effervescence, and it was not difficult for any one to perceive, who was not quite struck with blindness, that something extraordinary was to be expected, if the king and his ministers would not stop in the course they were heedlessly pursuing.

The liberals, or as they were called, the constitutionalists, carried the victory at the elections. But the weak king and his mad ministers took now those steps which brought Charles himself directly in the post chaise, and the Polignac Ministry by-the-bye, to the fortress Ham. On the morning of the 26th of July the six fatal ordinances were promulgated, which bore the date of the previous day, and by which the liberty of the press was annihilated, the newly made elections declared void, new ones ordered to be made, and the meeting of the Chambers postponed to the 26th of September, when they were ordered to meet. This extraordinary proceeding was sought to be justified by ap-

peal to the 14th Article of the Charter;* but a more frivolous pretence for tyranny could not be found, and it was no wonder that the patience of the French was at an end.

On the morning of the 26th of July, all the Journalists of the liberal papers assembled in the office of the "National," the principal contributors of which were M. Thiers and M. Armand Carrel—who had for a long time fearlessly opposed the encroachments on the liberty of the French by the Polignac Ministry. A collective protest of all these Journalists against the measures of government, was drawn up and signed—a courageous act, because those who signed this document risked their heads. It must not be forgotten that M. Thiers was one of the first who signed his name, and thus showed himself prepared to lay down his life for the success of the cause of the people. Upon this protest of the intrepid leaders of the liberals, the Parisians hastened to take up arms in vindication of the rights of the whole French nation. But it was the fate of that renowned warrior,† —who in a fatal moment, had by the deceitful tongue of Talleyrand, been made a traitor to his friend and Emperor, now when defending the throne of the Bourbons, and meeting in terrible contest the just wrath of the Parisians—to see the lilies fade in sight of the tri-colored banners, and to be conquered by the brave men and generous youths, who, with their blood, inscribed their names on the pages of history, and won freedom to France. The elder branch of the Bourbons had, for a third time, to pay an unwilling visit to their friends abroad. The National Guard of France obeyed once more the voice of the noble La Fayette. Some there were who wished to give France a republican form of government: but a contrary opinion prevailed, and Louis Philippe, Prince of Orleans, if not by the declared will of the French people, still as it appeared with their tacit approbation, mounted the throne of his ancestors, and promised that "*the Charter should become a reality.*" Happy for him had he kept his promise. But the allurements of illegal power were too strong to be withstood, even for this sagacious man, who now suffers but the just punishment of having deluded the just expectations of a generous people.

It was, as we have observed before, one of the chief principles of the Holy Alliance, to punish the people who should dare to revolt against their princes; but application of this principle was found very difficult in regard to France. Innumerable defeats, overturned thrones, exhausted treasures, and depopulated countries had been the consequences of the former wars of the European princes against enfranchised France, which first then was

* The contents of this article read thus:—Le roi fait les reglemens et ordonnances nécessaires pour l'exécution des lois et la sureté de l'état.

† Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa.

subdued, and that chiefly by treachery and by the aid of the other deceived people of Europe, when her veteran warriors had been destroyed by the frosty winds of Russia. The fresh memory of these events made the mighty of Europe *twice* to think what was to be done; and the garb of monarchy which France continued to bear, gave them a happy pretence with better grace to conceal the rage they felt on seeing democracy again raising its head.

The *real* representatives of the European aristocracy, the morose Wellington and the crafty Talleyrand agreed, at their interview in London, that it was far easier by art than by force to kill the new-born Hercules in his cradle. This opinion gained the approbation of the judicious Metternich, and of the Cabinets of Germany and Holland. The diplomatists hoped to carry the point the generals despaired to take. The proud Emperor of Russia was at last, though unwilling, prevailed upon to let his mighty sword rest in the scabbard. Thus the elder branch of the Bourbons, who had expected to see all Europe rise in vindication of their pretended rights, were left to shift for themselves, and muse upon the faithlessness of their royal brethren. Louis Philippe was consequently acknowledged as king of France by all the European princes, and by the holy fathers in Rome, though the most of them, in congratulating him on his new dignity, showed a somewhat peevish countenance. Yet the hypocritical smiles of the kings and of the aristocratical party could not cover their real sentiments, and it was to be feared that they would soon plot secret plans to chastise France. But democracy was in advance; the revolutions of Belgium and Poland, and the popular movements in Germany, inspired new terror in the breasts of the enemies of freedom. But as soon as the diplomatists had regained their wonted composure, they were all at hand to forge together that link of slavery, which had been so suddenly broken asunder by the French. The jealousy between Russia and Austria was at once forgotten; and nothing was thought of but to check the progress of the *common enemy*, the heaven-born maid of liberty, who, with daring steps, was walking through Europe, raising her knights to brave the forces of the confederated princes.

Belgium—which, in conformity with the resolution of the Congress of Vienna, 1814 and 1815, had been adjoined to Holland, under the sway of the House of Orange, had ever been adverse to this arbitrary decision, which was founded on no principle of justice—had given many proofs of its dissatisfaction with its government. Shortly before France had recovered from her independence, Belgium happened to be in much agitation, by the universal displeasure of the people with a severe sentence which had been passed upon two liberals, Porter and Ducpetiaux,

who had been accused for some writing, of pretended libellous tenor against the government. Thus the Belgians were in a fit disposition instantly to follow in the glorious footsteps of France.

Brussels gave, on the 25th of August, signal to that revolution, which liberated the Belgians from the dominion of a king, who had been imposed upon them contrary to their own wish. After some conciliatory negotiation between the government and the patriots, the latter, who suspected the uprightness of the former, and besides, were burning with love of freedom, flew to arms. The troops which had advanced from Antwerp to attack Brussels, were, after four days' hard contest, compelled to fall back. All Belgium made now common cause with Brussels. By the treaty of the 15th of November, 1841, in London, the five great European Powers acknowledged the independence of Belgium, but the king of Holland would not submit to this resolution. But when the Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg—who had been married with the deceased Princess Charlotte of England, presumptive heiress of the English crown—had been elected king of Belgium, France and England declared themselves resolved to enforce the above-mentioned treaty; and the citadel of Antwerp, was by the French Marshal Gerard compelled to capitulate. Then, in May, 1833, the king of Holland found himself obliged to acknowledge the independence of the Belgians.

The popular movements which, on the French revolution, followed in Brunswcik, Saxony, Hesse, Mecklemburg Schwerin, Hanover, and some other states of Germany, were not very successful, still they had the effect in some places to give the people somewhat more liberty. Yet it was curious to observe, how different language then was used in the proclamations of the governments, to that which shortly before had been in vogue; and how eager the great had at once been to gain popularity. The people of Germany showed themselves not energetic enough, but their attempts at acquiring freedom, were feeble and consequently unsuccessful. Besides, writers hired by the German princes and arristocrats hastened to make the French objects of jealousy to the Germans, by insinuating that the former wished to come in possession of the German provinces, on the left bank of the Rhine. Thus it happened that Germany reaped no benefits from the French revolution of 1830.

But the enemies of freedom soon had still more cause to rejoice at the defeat of the gallant Poles by the superior forces of Russia. No obstacles of diplomacy, no precaution of policy, no barriers of Cossacks had been effectual enough to prevent the ethereal flame which, in July, had been kindled in Paris, to set Poland on fire—the 29th of November, 1830. On that day, the brave Poles rose against the unjust dominion of Russia, and the tyranny of the barbarian—the Grand Duke Constantine, who,

in Warsaw, ruled in the name of his brother, but surely contrary to the wise counsels of this sagacious man, whose severity is always in subordination to his judgment, had behaved himself as a madman, and thus wantonly called down upon himself the vengeance of a high-spirited nation. The Russian troops in Warsaw were defeated, and Constantine himself was glad to save his life by a precipitate flight. At the same time the cholera broke out in Russia, and spread such a superstitious terror among the ignorant Russian multitude, that it for some time overcame their fear of the lash, and they gave evident signs of a seditious spirit, and even in some places, broke out in insurrections. But the Emperor of Russia bears a soul not easily to be dismayed. At this critical time, he displayed a very vigorous mind; and we have much reason to bewail that such great qualities cannot be made to serve the cause of freedom. By boldness and severity, mixed with seasonable signs of paternal affection and princely generosity, he soon made the Russians to fear him more than the cholera morbus, and to view in him something more than a mortal man. Having restored tranquillity within Russia, he soon poured vast bodies of troops into devoted Poland, on which he had sworn bloody revenge. To the able hands of the renowned Diebitsch, the conqueror of the Turks, he confided the punishment of the *ungrateful* Poles.

I must leave to another time to describe the daring actions, the valorous deeds, the generous sacrifices, and the prodigious efforts, by which the heroic sons and the noble daughters of Poland braved the formidable armies of Russia, and, for a long time, counterbalanced the superior numbers and the greater experience of their intrepid enemies. But the glory the Poles acquired in this terrible war will never fade. After Diebitsch had fallen a victim of cholera—as even the cruel Constantine did—Paskewitsch, also a very able general, was appointed chief commander of the Russian troops, and he succeeded at last, partly by force and partly by treachery, to overcome the resistance of the Poles, and to come into possession of Warsaw, which latter event took place on the 7th of September, 1831. An imperial ukase of February 26th, 1832, changed Poland into a Russian province, and annihilated thus the shadow of independence it had hitherto enjoyed. Once more Europe and Asia resounded with lamentations of the thousands and thousands of the unhappy Poles, who were undergoing every kind of suffering Russian ingenuity, in the abominable art of tormenting fellow-creatures, could invent. But, just cause as we have to condemn the Russian Emperor and his satellites, for the barbarous treatment they were inflicting upon Poland, we must not think that all the Poles themselves were free from blame. The greatest part of the Polish nobility were far from being friends of the noble principles of true demo-

cracy, but were inspired with quite contrary sentiments—being obstinate aristocrats who wished liberty for themselves and slavery to the mass of their countrymen. But the sufferings to which many of them since have been subjected, and the more correct ideas of the rights of man, which many of the exiles probably have acquired, will make them more worthy to return to their beloved fatherland as champions of genuine liberty. Thus we have good reason to hope, should Providence now give the Poles victory over their tyrants, that Poland will get the blessing of a free and liberal constitution, benefitting no less the people in general than the nobility.

In Portugal, the liberals were at last victorious ; and in spite of the assistance of his many friends, and among them the English Tories, the monster, Don Miguel, was compelled to quit his prey.

After the death, in 1832, of Ferdinand of Spain, those who had been in the habit of preaching passive obedience to princes, proved once more that they would not submit to this doctrine when opposed to their own interests and passions ; but, deviating from their principles, they avowed that a nation was not obliged, nay, ought not to submit to his unlawful will, who prescribed change in the order of succession, for the benefit of his infant daughter. The Liberals, on the other hand, joined that faction of the Absolutists who had remained faithful to Ferdinand, and asserted the validity of his will. Thus it happened that the usual adherents of absolute power put themselves in opposition to the will of the deceased monarch, and that the Liberals—the natural opponents to unlimited authority—stood forth as champions of that unlawful act. Yet each party followed the course their interests pointed out to them. The Carlists opposed the illegal will of Ferdinand, in order to advance the claims of a sanguinary despot and bigoted prince ; and the Liberals supported and swore allegiance to the daughter of the deceased one, in hope to re-establish freedom in Spain. Thus, though in point of right, the former, on a superficial view, seemed to have defended the better cause, I think, when we consider that all laws ought to aim at the welfare of the people, if not, to be abrogated, that we will concede that the Liberals were justified in acting as they did.

The power in England as well as in France—in the former country the Whigs had got the victory over the Tories—was now in the hands of men whose interests and principles made them favorable to the establishment of a liberal government in Spain. Thus Ferdinand's widow, Queen Christina—a woman of great energy, of manly courage, and of no mean abilities, but of an imperious character—who assumed, as guardian of her infant daughter, the reins of government, found herself supported, not

only by the most enlightened men of Spain, and by the civil authorities, who had generally ranged themselves on the side of the Queen Isabella, but also—which was of the highest importance—by the ambassadors of France and England. It is universally acknowledged that without the altered course of policy of these States, the reign of the young queen would have been of very short duration.

Still Don Carlos and his adherents did not long permit the government to remain quiet in the hands of the queen dowager and her counsellors. Despotism and fanaticism rose again to spread desolation and inexpressible miseries over unhappy Spain for six years. Yet blameable as the furious despot himself and his principal supporters were, they counterbalanced—at least the latter—in part, their criminal deeds, by exposing themselves to the dangers of the contest; but what language is powerful enough to paint the atrocity and baseness of these callous statesmen, stubborn aristocrats, and artful politicians, who, secure in their splendid palaces in Vienna, in Petersburg, in Rome, in Naples, and in London itself, instigated, exhorted, and furnished with means, the Carlists and their idol to pursue this fratricidal war? The most detestable, however, among all these unscrupulous enemies of humanity, and conspirators against the peace and happiness of Spain, were the Tories; because, lyingly boasting that they were the friends of freedom and the generous benefactors of their poor countrymen, they blushed not to send from England millions of pounds, to assist tyranny and bigotry to commit hideous carnages among the Spaniards, while many hundreds of thousands of starving laboring men cried for bread in Great Britain.

The Austrian, Russian, and Prussian statesmen, who had been so eager in 1823 to settle the internal strifes of the Spaniards by the intervention of France, in favor of a despotic prince and an ignorant priesthood, did not wish to see that country and England interfere in the horrid scenes of cruelty which were exhibited in Spain from 1833 to 1839; because they knew well that such an intervention would have had no other object than to hasten the defeat of those whom they themselves, and their friends, the Tories, cherished so fondly.

The balance of the physical force in Spain, between the contending parties, was certainly in favor of the young queen and the Liberals; but Don Carlos seemed, for a long time, to have been better supplied with funds, which were sent to him by his friends from abroad, and furnished by the clergy, who were not backward to spend a part of their immense treasures in view of preserving the means of despoiling the people. He had also, in Zumalacarreguy, a general whose superior abilities made his cause victorious, until 1835, when death put a period to this able

but misguided warrior's life. From this moment, victory evidently began to favor the better cause, which, in the renowned Espartero, had found its ablest champion. This general's victories at Luchana, at Burgos, and at Pennacerda, but principally his fortunate campaign of 1839, and his ingenuity in persuading the talented Moroto to conclude the convention of Begara, gave the death-blow to the power of Don Carlos, whose mismanagement, meanness, and ferocious nature, had disgusted even many of his most strenuous supporters, and who consequently was obliged to end his detestable career in Spain by a precipitate flight to France. There he was long detained in captivity, not justifiable in point of absolute right, yet mild compared with what he had deserved for his numerous transgressions against humanity. Finally Espartero compelled the courageous and able, but cruel general Cabrera, the last pillar of the cause of Don Carlos, to quit his stronghold in Arragonia, and follow the footsteps of his worthy master, in seeking safety in France; and thus the hero of Luchana put a glorious end to a war, during the course of which both parties, but principally the Carlists, had stained themselves with outrages to which few parallels are found in the records of human enormities. It was, therefore, but a just reward that Espartero was greatly honored, and magnificently rewarded by the queen-regent of Spain, and fondly cherished by his victorious troops and by the great majority of the nation; but, as a matter of course, he in the same degree became the object of malicious envy and unrestrained jealousy.

The queen-regent had, in the meantime, been obliged to submit to the claims of the more ardent friends of freedom in Spain, and to the constitution of 1837, to which Espartero had also given his support, which greatly circumscribed the royal power. The imperious disposition of queen Christina made her very unfit patiently to bear this restriction; but she was too clever to give vent to her displeasure, so long as the Carlists were not totally conquered, and her daughter's throne not placed on a solid foundation. But this object being at last accomplished, she did not longer conceal her thoughts and the true patriots were soon made aware that there were dangers from the machinations of the Court against the newly established liberty. Besides, queen Christina, much addicted to pleasure, had followed the dictates of her heart, and though without any real fault of her own, lowered herself in the eyes of the nation. She is generally supposed by those who know her well, never to have gone beyond the bounds which modesty prescribes to women; but she had transgressed the rules of propriety by uniting herself to a man from among the people, and had thus offended the nobility, and lost the esteem of the blind populace, which foolishly joined the former in looking upon her marriage as dishonorable. If the

Spaniards had acted wisely, they ought to have honored her for this very act, by which she paid a compliment to the people in selecting from among them a husband, and by which she would have proved herself to be of a liberal mind, were there not more reason to think that she was solely actuated by passion.

After the sudden and unexpected resignation of Queen Dowager Christina, Espartero, the conqueror of the despotic bigot, the favorite of the people, and the idol of the army, became the Regent of Spain by the voluntary decree of the Cortes; but, ere long, he found himself exposed to the envy of the aristocrats, the hatred of the clergy, the jealousy of the republican party, and the intrigues of some foreign powers. The first charged him with unbounded ambition, because he, an upstart, solely by his own merits, dared by virtue of a lawful decree to rule over degenerated descendants of illustrious ancestors. The second party accused him of impiety, because he attempted to appropriate a part of the immense property of the church to the benefit of the state. The republicans called him a traitor, because he remained faithful to a limited monarchy; and foreign Cabinets plotted his downfall, because he refused to sacrifice the interests of Spain to their own. Yet by his energy, and by the support of some of the ablest and most enlightened men of Spain, he succeeded in quelling, for nearly three years, all the open as well as all the secret attempts to overthrow his authority. He met the frown of the Russian Autocrat and the wrath of the German and Italian Princes with dignified calmness, alike distant from insolent arrogance and from unbridled irritability of temper. The conspiracies and revolts in Pampeluna, Barcelona, and Madrid, and many other places, partly caused by the Carlists and by the friends of Queen Christina, and partly by the indiscreet and impetuous zeal of the republican party, were frustrated, some by precautious measures and some by force; and though humanity called for milder treatment of the conspirators than they sometimes actually underwent, this severity must be imputed more to the absurd and cruel customs and laws, which generally prevail among the nations of the globe in similar cases, than to any individual ferocity or revengefulness on the part of Espartero.

It is unquestionable that the Spanish nation was much indebted to the King of France and the Melbourne Ministry for being saved from the imminent danger of being subjected to the dominion of Don Carlos, and that the friendship of the governments of France and England had principally enabled Queen Christina victoriously to contend with the many difficulties which she had to encounter. And it cannot be reasonably doubted, that, had Espartero been so fortunate as to have been in the same degree supported by the French and English Cabinets, he would have surmounted all the obstacles he met with; but a contrary fate was

allotted to him, and therefore deserving nothing but rewards, he was compelled, as we will hereafter relate, to save himself by flight from ungrateful Spain, which so many times he had caused to resound his praise.

It is unquestionable that the French revolution of 1830, had a great deal caused that alteration in the public opinion in Great Britain, in consequence of which the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues found themselves obliged to resign,* and were succeeded by the Whigs, who, though with some changes of individuals in the ministry, only with three momentary interruptions, were able, in spite of all the efforts of the Tories, for nearly ten years, to continue to sway the destiny of England. It is not at present my intention to relate the honorable actions of the Whigs under that time; but the impartial historian will not refuse to award them the merit of having done much for the cause of liberty. Imperishable glory will follow many of their names; and history herself will lightly pass over their failings, and will find a delightful duty to rest upon the good they really effected, and the yet more they would have done but for the opposition of their enemies. The Lords Grey, Melbourne, John Russell, Palmerston, Holland, Morpeth, and Brougham, and many other nobles among the Whig party, gave new proofs that high birth and great wealth are not irreconcilable with love of freedom and due regard to the rights of the masses; and that it would be very wrong to think that noblemen and rich persons are always the enemies of humanity. It ought to be remembered that innumerable persons of high descent and even of vast riches, have stood forth as champions of the people; and, again, that many who were born in cottages have been the instruments of tyranny, of superstition, and of priestcraft, and the deadliest enemies of the poorer classes. Men are actuated by interest, and few have been of so elevated a virtue as to sacrifice their own good for the well-being of their fellow-men; but those few have been of all classes of men, noblemen as well as peasants.

The Cabinets of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, and all the aristocrats of Europe, viewed with the deepest indignation the progress of the principles of democracy; and these feelings would undoubtedly have led to a war against France, which was considered as the chief cause thereto; and against Belgium, which had dared to follow the glorious example of the former country; but the friendship which the Whig Ministry of England entertained towards France restrained the anger of the great despotic Cabinets, because they saw that if they were to attack Belgium or France, they would also at the same time have to wage war against England. The Emperor of Russia, however, put his army in a for-

* Nov. 16, 1830.

midable order, and appears to have been inclined jointly with Austria and Prussia, to risk a contest both against France and England; but the cautious Metternich, the more timid king of Prussia, and also the wisest of the counsellors of Nicholas, and among them the Count Nesselrode, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, are said to have conjured him to desist from his purpose, and not involve himself and his allies in so hazardous a contest. It is also said that the sagacious King of Sweden gave the Russian Emperor, who unexpectedly paid him a visit, similar advice. Be this as it may, sure it is that it was at last agreed not to wage a war against both France and England; but to renew the attempts which had often been repeated to break the close alliance which then existed between these two countries. At last the eastern question—as the war between the Sultan and his powerful vassal, Mehemet Ali, was called—afforded the long-wished-for apple of discord.

After the battle of Nezib, in which Ibraham Pacha conquered the Turkish forces, he would have marched his army to the Bosphorus, and perhaps found an easy entrance into the capital of the Sultan, had he not been prevented from this attempt by the orders of his father, Mehemet Ali, who acted thus in accordance to the advice of the French Cabinet, whose motive to intercede was not so much a wish to save the Sultan, as the fear that Russia, under the pretext to assist the latter, would himself be master of Constantinople. The French Cabinet, however, guaranteed Mehemet Ali the possession of Syria. But the Sultan, not willing to give up this province to Mehemet Ali, was induced by the Ambassadors of Russia and Austria, and principally by Lord Ponsonby, the English Minister at Constantinople, and the deadly enemy of the Pacha of Egypt, to throw himself into the arms of the five great European Powers, and ask for their intervention between him and his powerful vassal. This proposal was acceded to.

It would indeed be ridiculous to suppose, in the present state of the world, that the mediating powers would have acted with such disinterestedness as became impartial arbitrators only from motives of justice; therefore when the ablest statesmen acted in opposition to the interests of their own country, we may be assured, that they had some secret motives for pursuing a course contrary to the rules of sound politics. It was undoubtedly the true motives of Austria and Prussia to make the Turkish Empire as powerful as possible; and it is altogether improbable that such an accomplished statesman as Metternich should not have perceived that this aim would be easiest obtained by encouraging the gifted Mehemet Ali to join under his sway all the Turkish dominions. Yet the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin resolved to act in concert with Russia, whose interests in this affair were op-

posed to their own. The motives of the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets for acting thus were undoubtedly their strict adherence to the principles of the Holy Alliance, to assist the legitimate monarchs against every attempt of their subjects to throw off their authority, and the hope to make this affair, by the co-operation of Russia, the desired means to dissolve the alliance between France and England.

It is very questionable whether England had not as much interest as France herself, in favoring the plans of Mehemet Ali; and I think it would not be impossible satisfactorily to demonstrate that the true policy of England, not less than that of Austria and Prussia, required the Cabinets of these countries to promote the designs of the Pacha of Egypt. But when it was seen that Austria and Prussia were contrary to their real interests cooperating with Russia, then England had so much more cause to adhere to the French alliance as the strongest barrier against the plans of the three great despotic Cabinets. At the head of the foreign affairs of England, was Lord Palmerston, one of the ablest diplomatists and without doubt, an eminent statesman, but nevertheless the English Cabinet on his advice, committed the egregious error to listen to the persuasions of those in whose hands the Cabinets of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin had confided the negotiation of this affair.

So able a statesman as Lord Palmerston, could not fail to perceive the great importance of the amicable relations between France and England, and that the cause of liberty chiefly depended upon the mutual friendship of these two countries; nor could he have overlooked the benefits which must naturally arise to England, from the success of the plans of Mehemet Ali. He must also have been convinced, that the Pacha of Egypt was more able to promote the cause of civilization, than the blind and ignorant government of Turkey. But what does an interested, and particularly a British Statesman care for what promotes the benefit of mankind in general? Still there were many grave interests of England, which exhorted Lord Palmerston to preserve the friendship of France, and promote the designs of the Pacha of Egypt. The road he had to walk lay open to his view. He was too clear-sighted to lose it by mistake, but purposely he resolved to pursue a less honorable way.

The negotiation on the part of the three great despotic powers was chiefly left to the Russian Ambassador, Baron Brunow, one of the ablest diplomatists now living. The affairs of France in England, were at that time in the hands of M. Guizot—certainly an eminent statesman, but not a very subtle diplomatist, and not at all fit for the part he had there to play.

We have before mentioned that France had guaranteed Mehemet Ali the possession of Syria, or at least some part of it.

The Soult ministry which had given this province, had meanwhile resigned; but the Thiers ministry which had succeeded it, very justly thought that it was but just that the promise given to Mehemet Ali should be strictly kept. As in consequence of the appeal of the Sultan to the mediation of the five great European Powers, it had been resolved that this affair should be discussed in London, between Lord Palmerston and the Ambassadors of the other four mediating powers, M. Thiers had instructed M. Guizot how to act, and not to neglect any opportunity of dissuading Lord Palmerston from agreeing to anything, which would be contrary to the promise which France had given to Mehemet Ali, as the French Cabinet would feel itself bound to support his claims as far as this promise went. But M. Guizot appears not to have paid enough of attention to this affair, and to have entertained no suspicion that any secret treaty would be signed between the other negotiators without his hearing. It is also probable that he hoped Count Pontois, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, would be able to overcome the influence of Lord Ponsonby, and persuade the Turkish Divan to listen to the prosposals of Mehemet Ali, and thus counteract the plans of the other mediating powers, and that he therefore, looked upon the negotiation in London as not so important as it afterwards proved to be. Be this as it will, it is enough to know that the celebrated treaty of the 15th of July, 1840, was concluded without M. Guizot's knowledge.

I will here point out some of the causes which are supposed to have induced Lord Palmerston to act as he did. On the repeated instigations of Lord Ponsonby—then English Ambassador at Constantinople, and the implacable enemy of Mehemet—Lord Palmerston had become prepossessed against the aspiring aims of this ambitious man, whom he suspected to be a secret enemy of England and a friend of France. In order to give a better turn to the distressed state of the English trade, he and his colleagues in the Cabinet wished to open a new commercial way through Syria; and they appear erroneously to have supposed, that this would most easily be effected, if Syria should be brought back under the weak and disorderly government of Turkey. His knowledge of the peaceful sentiments of the king of France, inspired Lord Palmerston with a confident belief, that the French Cabinet would inevitably follow in whatever direction he might choose to lead. It is also possible, that Lord Palmerston was actuated by the vanity of thwarting the plans of M. Thiers, to whom he was then at least no friend. Besides, the noble Lord seems not to have been quite insensible to the flatteries with which the Russian Ambassador undoubtedly seasoned his negotiations, in order to persuade the British Minister to agree to the proposals he made for the pacification of Turkey,

and the preservation of the throne of the Sultan. It is to be observed that the Russian Emperor was then represented as very anxious to support the tottering throne he wished himself to overthrow. Baron Brunow at last carried his double aim—the one being to gain the co-operation of England to deprive Mehemet Ali of Syria, and the other to sow the seed of discord between France and England. Lord Palmerston, jointly with the Ambassadors of the three great despotic Powers, signed the treaty without informing M. Guizot thereof, as they were persuaded that he would oppose it, and that it would then be more difficult to induce France to accede to it. There can be no doubt that Lord Palmerston hoped that when the treaty once was concluded, that the French Cabinet would not oppose its execution. But though he had rightly deemed the character of the king of France and the policy he would pursue, the noble lord appears to have mistaken the character of M. Thiers, then premier of France. This able minister saw at a glance, the real intention of the despotic Cabinets, and he did not conceal the interpretation he gave to the treaty of the 15th of July, 1840. It has been said that he would have frustrated the designs of the enemies of France, and preserved the friendship of the English Cabinet by acceding to this treaty. It may be true, and M. Guizot appeared to me, at a subsequent interview which I had with him, to entertain the same opinion; but M. Thiers justly thought that this friendship would have cost too much, if he purchased it by dishonorably breaking the promise which France had given to Mehemet Ali.

I am proud to relate that at the information of the conclusion of the treaty of the 15th July, 1840, I hastened, in a series of letters to the Editor of the London Sun, of which the first appeared in that paper the 22d of the following August, to point out the fatal error which Lord Palmerston had committed, and to prove the justice of the course of policy which M. Thiers was pursuing. But the infatuation of the English Press went so far, that even that liberal paper disapproved of M. Thiers, on whom the London Times, with almost all the other English papers, and with even those of Germany at its heels, abused in the most scandalous terms. But the impartial historian will not forget to hand down to posterity the glorious stand which M. Thiers then made against the intrigues of the enemies of France, and of the liberty of the people.

The style in which the treaty in question was drawn up and the insolent conditions imposed upon the high-spirited Pacha of Egypt, were worthy of the members of the Holy Alliance, but unworthy the Whigs of Great Britain. The invitation to the French Cabinet to accede to this treaty, and thus not only to break her pledge, but also to insult the man who relied on them,

was in reality a great offence to France herself. This was the opinion which I expressed in my letters to the Editor of the London Sun, and which I had soon the satisfaction to see confirmed by the view which M. Thiers himself entertained on that subject. That able Minister, without the least hesitation, refused to listen to the dishonorable propositions which were made to the French Cabinet; yet well aware also to what hazards he exposed France by his refusal, he called her valiant sons to arms, and took the most vigorous measures to put her in such a position as to enable her to bid defiance to the mighty forces by which she might be assailed. The extraordinary preparations for war which he himself made, and which by the energetic impulse he had given, the successors of the ministry he headed were obliged to continue, made the deepest impression on the minds of the ruling powers. With terror and astonishment they saw that France yet once more was able to unfold the same immense resources, and to rise to that high pitch of enthusiastic love of glory and liberty which in her last wars had made the thrones of Europe totter, and this may justly be said to have been the principal cause that the enemies of liberty did not dare in 1840 and 1841, as they had wished, to punish France and Belgium for the glorious revolutions of 1830. Thus the honor of having frustrated these designs belongs unquestionably far more to M. Thiers than to M. Guizot.

It was curious to observe how at that time M. Thiers was equally assailed by those who wished that he should rush headlong into a hazardous war against the united powers of Europe, without first having made preparations for carrying it on with reasonable hope of success; and by those who would have him join the other four great powers in their coercive measures against Mehemet Ali. M. Thiers' conduct at that time was admirable, and proved him to be a no less firm than able statesman. Unmoved by all the abuse heaped on him, he made, in spite of the vacillating conduct of Louis Philippe himself, the most energetic efforts to put France in a position suitable to the dangers by which she was threatened.

Having reasonable hope to serve France, which I considered as the bulwark of freedom in Europe, I communicated verbally to M. Guizot my plans, which he instantly asked me to write down. I promised that I would do so, and hastened to draw up a written document containing my views of the measures which ought to be taken in the northern part of Europe, in view to assure France of the co-operation of the Scandinavian kingdoms in the apparently approaching contest; but before I left this document in the hands of M. Guizot, I told him he must return it to me—to which, if I am not mistaken, he gave an affirmative answer.

Some time afterwards I called on M. Guizot, and asked him his opinion of the communications I had made to him. To which

he answered, that he had sent a copy of the writing that I had handed over to him, to M. Thiers; but he thought that the present difficulties would not lead to a war. On my request to get back the written document I left in his hands, he gave a prompt refusal, stating that he was resolved to keep it.

M. Guizot was a few days afterwards recalled, and has not until this day pleased to return to me a document which he must be aware is of the greatest importance to me to see destroyed. I have applied to him twice for the purpose to get it back, but in vain; still I must acknowledge that I am fully convinced that he has communicated to no one its contents, except to M. Thiers.

I cannot accuse M. Guizot of having broken his promise, because I may have misunderstood him; but still I think that he has acted wrong in not returning a document, which was of no use to him, but could possibly have been injurious to myself, and to the hopes entertained by millions. M. Guizot at least has been the chief instrument in frustrating for more than seven years those hopes. The way in which this has been done will be seen from what I am going to relate.

The Cabinets of Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin, saw with the greatest satisfaction the animosity which began to rise between France and England in consequence of the treaty above alluded to. The public papers which stood under their control bore evidence enough thereof; these Cabinets had at last gained that aim they had so long been endeavoring to attain by every artifice of policy. They flattered themselves with having deprived France of the aid of England, should she attempt to propagate the principles of democracy, or when they should find an opportunity of attempting to punish her for having dethroned her *legitimate* monarch. But seeing the extraordinary exertions of M. Thiers to set France in a warlike posture, and the vehement ardor with which the great majority of the French people hastened to support M. Thiers in his measures to vindicate the honor of France, the three despotic Cabinets began to fear, that a war with France at that time would possibly have quite a contrary result to what was wished for. They began therefore to apply means for the removal of M. Thiers, and there are some reasons to suppose that secret negotiations were opened with the King of France for accomplishing this aim. This sagacious politician was ready to avail himself of this expedient to avoid the impending conflict. Angry with the English Cabinet, and well aware of the intrigues of the despotic Powers, he had been pleased to see M. Thiers rouse the martial spirit of the French, and display the formidable resistance *those* had to expect *who* should be inclined to assail his throne; but he showed himself very willing to sacrifice M. Thiers in order to preserve peace, little caring for what happened to Mehemet Ali, or the promises his minister

had given this prince. Consequently he began to thwart the plans of M. Thiers, who consequently found himself obliged to resign. Bidding with a gracious countenance farewell to that great minister, he threw himself into the arms of Soult and Guizot. The best justification of M. Thiers' policy is found in the deplorable and useless waste of human blood in depriving Mehemet Ali of Syria, and in his admirable speeches in the Chamber of Deputies subsequent to his resignation.

It was nothing but what was to be expected, that all the enemies of liberty should rejoice at M. Thiers being obliged to resign; but astonishing it was to hear many liberals re-echoing the same shout of exultation. The latter were misled particularly in England and Germany, to such an improper conduct, by the false opinion, that M. Thiers had in view only the aggrandisement and welfare of France, but that he did not care for the liberty of other people. This great statesman is, undoubtedly, the warmest friend of his native land, but no less of the general freedom of nations; and he is too sagacious not to perceive that the liberty of the French can never be lasting, if all the other European people are not liberated from the dominion of despotic kings and self-interested aristocrats.

In appointing Marshal Soult minister of war, in fortifying Paris, and in nominating M. Guizot minister for foreign affairs, the king of France proved that he put no entire confidence in the peaceful assurances of the despotic Cabinets, but that he was at the same time willing to preserve peace. It was therefore agreed between Louis Philippe and his new ministers to sacrifice Mehemet Ali, and to pursue the course of policy to which M. Guizot, in somewhat boastful language, gave the name of "armed peace."

Peace was preserved, and Mehemet Ali lost Syria, which now again became the field of disorder; but this would not have assured to the Orleans dynasty the lasting possession of the throne of France. Other measures were to be taken for that purpose. One of these was as above stated—the fortification of Paris—which undertaking was advocated by M. Thiers, but which was by many foreign, particularly English, and even some French papers, blamed as a measure against the democratic party within Paris; but we will, perhaps, have opportunity of seeing that just these fortifications will save the liberty of France. Had Louis Philippe done nothing more derogatory to their freedom, then he had deserved to remain in quiet possession of the throne, and then he would undoubtedly have done so until his death. But, unhappily for himself, after the resignation of M. Thiers, he flattered himself to be able to gain the friendship of the *legitimate* princes and the aristocratical party; and as he considered this to be the surest guarantee for the succession

of his grandson to the throne, he began to pursue a policy which alienated from him the affections of the French.

M. Guizot—one of the greatest men of the age—either from love of power or from principles adverse to democracy, condescended to become the instrument of Louis Philippe in realizing his mistaken plans. No one who knows M. Guizot, can question the high qualities which adorn him—his keen acuteness, his firm character, his oratorical power, his deep knowledge of the human heart, his profound learning, and his unsullied morality—but we may be allowed to doubt the truth of the renown he has enjoyed of being a friend of constitutional monarchy. Still he was undoubtedly, the ablest man now living, to oppose the superlative talents and the chivalrous spirit of M. Thiers, and at the same time to convince the minds of men, that it was not rational or safe to go a step farther than he did on the road of liberty. Soon the monarchs and aristocratical party of Europe, began to view M. Guizot as the fittest man to suppress democracy in France, and he seems not to have been proof against the flatteries heaped upon him by the enemies of the people. It is also to be observed, that even many the most liberal, highly praised him and accorded him the title of the great minister—a title which, in regard to his extraordinary endowments, he surely deserved, but by no means by the course of policy he pursued. It was no evidence of that foresight, which we had right to expect from such a gifted man—but which success and praises deprived him of—to forfeit the love of a majority of his countrymen; nor have we reason to think M. Guizot to be a man of a generous soul, because, how could he then have sacrificed the rights and the welfare of the many, who labored in their sweat, to the applause of the few that spent their lives in luxurious sloth?

Blameable as the Whig ministry were for having concluded the treaty of the 15th July, 1840, and for the miseries they had inflicted upon humanity in view to restore Syria to its ancient tyrants,* but nevertheless, much praise was due to them for the prompt and able execution of that treaty, because, even when statesmen are erring in principles, they deserve applause for the abilities they display in actions. But the Whig ministers having lost the confidence of many of the liberal party, by the alliance they had concluded with the despotic Cabinets, were—in spite of the victories which were achieved in Syria by their able management, and though success is always dazzling to the vulgar—unable to maintain their places against the renewed vigorous attempts of the Tories, who, by means of the wealth they spent

* The enemies of Mehemet Ali will return the answer that this prince is himself a tyrant. It may be true; but he is at least a despot, who is forwarding the cause of civilization, and his enlightened mind soars in regions to which many have never been able to exalt their views.

unlawfully, to buy votes at the general election for members of parliament which took place in 1841, gained the majority in the House of Commons, and consequently obliged the Melbourne ministry to resign.

Every one who attentively reads the speeches which Sir Robert Peel made in 1841, in the House of Commons, must think, that he had contrived some secret means for bringing the affairs of England into the most flourishing state; and that his conviction that these means were the only infallible ones for that very purpose, solely induced him to oppose the plans which the Whigs had formed for the same object, as he thought them ineffectual. Yet, after having become premier of Great Britain, he was obliged by degrees to adopt the measures proposed by the Whigs, and at last to throw himself into their arms, in order to carry out these measures in opposition to his former adherents. Inconsistent, as Sir Robert Peel undoubtedly was, it must, however, be acknowledged that he was more clear-sighted than the majority of the Tories, and perhaps, not quite so callous to the sufferings of the mass of the English people, as that party in general always have proved themselves. It is in vain to tell us that the English aristocracy are generous—some of them are undoubtedly so, but not the great majority of them.

It is not the injuries men are undergoing, but the knowledge that they are unjustly treated, and that their rights are violated, that makes them resolve to seek for redress; hence despots have always persecuted those who have attempted to enlighten the minds of the pepole. The Russian slaves being totally ignorant of the rights of man, firmly believe that God himself made them thralls, and therefore, patiently submit to the yoke, and bear even without murmuring, the oppressions of their insolent masters; but the working classes of England and Ireland, having some idea of their natural rights, think themselves justly entitled to the enjoyment of a part at least of these rights. They are not blind enough to impute to a benign Providence, the injuries which their fellow-men are inflicting upon them; and they have already begun much to doubt the reality of being the free people they have been taught to believe they were. They have begun to perceive that freedom is something quite different from that liberty the poorer classes of Great Britain enjoy. They hoped for relief from the Melbourne ministry, but could not reasonably entertain the same hope from Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues. Soon, therefore, after the formation of the Tory ministry, hundreds of thousands of industrious men of the laboring classes in Great Britain ceased to work; and the vehement spirit of the Irish was roused to the highest pitch of indignation. But the government proved too strong, and the dissatisfied found themselves compelled to submit to force.

The Chartists are advancing claims which in most points are just and rational; but some of them think that the equal distribution of property ought to be enforced. Those, who have advanced the latter opinion, have injured the cause of the Chartists, and deprived this party of the aid of many who admit that their claims in general are equitable. But none can reasonably deny that the claims of the Irish go beyond what is warranted, both by equity and justice; nevertheless, the Tory ministers were deaf to their clamors for redress, and at last committed the egregious error to bring an accusation of treason against O'Connell, the great national champion of the freedom of the Irish. We all know, that through the decision of the Whig Judges—with the exception of Lord Brougham, that great and bad man—O'Connell and his colleagues were liberated from the prison in which the hatred and folly of the Tories had incarcerated them.

From that time, Sir Robert Peel became ashamed of being the leader of the Tory party; and even the Duke of Wellington began to observe that his political career was blasting the laurels he had gathered in the field of battle. The Tory party became divided. The hatred of the worst of this party—being the majority—almost changed Sir Robert Peel into a liberal. Thus, he who had always been the most able enemy of freedom, and who greatly contributed to the defeats this noble cause has suffered since 1815, began to advocate the cause of suffering humanity—a bitter enemy of his as I have been, I feel pleasure in acknowledging that the very latest time of the political career of this able minister has been honorable to him, and worthy of a great man.

The resignation of the Melbourne ministry, opened opportunity for Louis Philippe and M. Guizot of approaching England again. Lord Palmerston, the man who had incurred their just displeasure, was no more minister for the foreign affairs of Great Britain; and Lord Aberdeen who succeeded him, was a man of a more congenial nature to them. Consequently, the friendship between France and England, was restored, and confirmed still more by a personal visit of the Queen of England to France. Louis Philippe began now to hope that he would be able to persuade the English government to favor his marriage project, in regard to the Queen of Spain. A visit to England was therefore necessary, the more to strengthen the present friendship between himself and the young queen—and also, to gain more popularity among the English people themselves.

The realization of the French king's plans in Spain, were meanwhile in part accomplished. This had taken place in consequence of the machinations of M. Guizot, and the secret enmity Lord Aberdeen and the whole English Cabinet, in spite of their friendly assurances, entertained against Espartero.

As long as the Melbourne ministry continued to rule over the

destinies of Great Britain, they as sincerely and faithfully supported Espartero, as they previously had done Queen Christina, without any undue claims. The king of France, on the contrary, after the departure of the Queen Regent from Spain, began to show some signs that he, as the most powerful kinsman of Queen Isabella, thought himself entitled to some authority, but which Espartero thought, if acknowledged, would have endangered the independence of Spain. Hence originated a great deal of coolness between Louis Philippe and Espartero, which on the part of the former, by circumstances to be mentioned soon, was changed into displeasure and enmity.

Queen Christina, after being disappointed in her expectation of an amicable reception by her Italian relations, had sought and found an asylum at the court of France, and made there the strongest complaints against Espartero, in order to procure the aid of Louis Philippe to regain her place as Regent of Spain; which high dignity she repented having resigned, and therefore pretended that she had been compelled to abdicate. Though the king of France was displeased with her secret marriage with a person of low parentage, he was yet more angry with Espartero, and gave thus a willing ear to her charges and supplications; and that with the more readiness, as he resolved, in one way or another, to make her the instrument of obtaining the sought for influence in the Spanish affairs, and also of carrying out his plans to join one of his sons with the young Isabella by connubial ties. I think that Espartero would have acted most wisely, had he not listened to those who deceitfully dissuaded him from favoring such a marriage, though his opposition to it cannot, in the least degree, excuse the blameable means by which the French Cabinet sought to accomplish it. Louis Philippe found M. Guizot, his minister for Foreign Affairs, particularly willing to plot the overthrow of the power of Espartero, because this *doctrinaire* wished for an opportunity of signalizing himself, by causing the Spanish constitution to be altered in favor of the royal authority, which in accordance with the principles he and his friends had begun to advocate, was too much limited.

This great minister—gifted with qualities of the highest order, who had it in his power to be the benefactor of millions, and to gain an immortal name in the cause of suffering humanity—was led astray from so glorious a course by his contempt of an ignorant multitude, and of the sacred rights of man, by his authoritative spirit, by the flatteries of princes, and by the influence of his interested but mistaken master. Before any step was taken to undermine the authority of Espartero, attempts were made to induce him voluntarily to resign his power, or to give his support to the accomplishment of a marriage between the young

Queen and one of the French Princes; but after meeting with repeated refusals, no less to the second than to the first of these proposals, the French Cabinet assumed a somewhat hostile tone, and began secretly to encourage the friends of Queen Christina to revolt, and negotiations were also opened with many of Espartero's adherents, on purpose to deprive him of their support, and thus to undermine the foundation upon which his chief power was built.

If we consider the versatility of popular favor—the mutinous spirit which, in so many revolutions, has got the better of the Spaniards—the immense influence which superstition and ignorance give to the Spanish priesthood—the impetuosity of the *exaltados*—the envious pride of the nobility—the *chaos* of the Spanish finances—the manifest enmity of the great despotic Cabinets of Europe and the hostile machinations of that of France—we must certainly concede, that it was nothing but what was reasonably to be expected, that Espartero should be unable to maintain his place as regent of Spain. Still he might, perhaps, have been able to preserve the authority which he legally held, had it not been for the treachery of the Tory ministry.

The Tories knew, on their accession to power, in 1841, that the policy of the Melbourne ministry, with regard to Spain, had won the approbation of the English nation in general; but it was natural that they felt displeased at seeing at the head of Spanish affairs, the man who, of all Spaniards, had had the greatest share in the defeat of their fondling, that fanatical bigot and sanguinary Jesuit, on whom they for many years had lavished their gold. Their principles made them view the young Queen of Spain as an usurper of Don Carlos' right; and their wounded pride and their thirst for revenge, on account of their disappointed expectations, prompted them to hostilities against the government of Spain. But public opinion in England, and the fear that Espartero by any inimical steps on their part, should be induced to seek his security in a close alliance with France, obliged them to conceal their hatred, and continue in appearance the friendly relations which the Melbourne ministry had kept up with the Spanish government.

Being well acquainted with the animosity which the Spaniards generally bore to England, and particularly the liberal party among them, against the Tories, the Peel Ministry judiciously deemed that by acquiring the confidence of Espartero, and making it appear that he stood in the most friendly relation with the English Cabinet, composed of Tories and renegade Whigs—they would be able to widen still more the breach between Espartero and Louis Philippe, and at the same time expose the former to the jealousy and suspicion of the majority of the Spanish people. Thus, by depriving him of the aid of the French mo-

narch in the hour of danger, and by blasting his popularity at home, the Peel ministry were sure by a political stratagem to realize two important objects in view—the one being to prevent Espartero from co-operating with the king of France for promoting the ambitious plans of this monarch, and the other to deprive Espartero himself of the authority he held in Spain.

Thus, though from diametrically opposite motives, both the French and the English Cabinets were plotting the ruin of Espartero. The former was angry with him because he would not sacrifice the independence of Spain to the personal interests of Louis Philippe, and the latter hated him as the man who had defeated the prince, whom they viewed as the legitimate ruler of Spain. But neither of the Cabinets cared the least for the prosperity and happiness of the Spanish people.

Therefore, through their machinations it happened that soon all parties in Spain began to feel themselves unsatisfied with him. The *Exaltados* or the republican party said, that Espartero would not be a friend of the inveterate enemies of freedom had he not himself become a traitor to liberty. The *Constitutionalists* questioned whether he had not the aim of dethroning the Queen and hiding his treachery under the purple. The *Priesthood*, who had always been hostile to him, endeavored, and that not without success, to instil into the minds of the people the belief that his attempts to dispose of the property of the church for worldly purposes were influenced by the *Heretics*, into whose arms he had thrown himself. The *Absolutists*, though seeing him courted by their old allies, the Tories, openly gave vent to their hatred against him, whom they never could forgive, after having frustrated all their endeavors to establish despotism in Spain. The soldiers were also alienated from Espartero, by suspecting him of being more eager to cultivate the friendship of foreigners than to acquire their attachment. Thus the authority of Espartero was undermined and his popularity lost.

Many might, perhaps, be inclined to think, that even if granted that the roused jealousy of the Spaniards against the conduct of Espartero produced his downfall, that it however might be questionable whether the Peel ministry had such an aim by the course of policy they pursued in regard to him. To this supposed objection I answer by questioning, to what purpose but to ruin him can the haughty aristocrats of Great Britain be reasonably thought to have shown marks of friendship toward the noble champion of Spanish liberty? Yet there may be some who will be willing to suppose that the Peel ministry acted then solely to prevent Espartero from giving way to the insinuation of Louis Philippe to promote his matrimonial project. But though such a supposition is in part well founded, and though it must be admitted that the English Cabinet first courted the friendship of

Espartero for this purpose, it was however in perfect accordance with the principles of the Tories to undermine at the same time the authority of a man who, in their eyes, was a traitor to his lawful sovereign, and who swayed an usurped power. It must not be forgotten that the Tories view Don Carlos as the legal heir to the Spanish throne.

The opinion, however, in consequence of the machinations of the foreign Cabinets and the enemies of Espartero within Spain, soon became prevalent that he was a traitor himself, and thought to usurp royal power; but not the remotest evidence has ever been brought forward that he harbored such a plan. Nevertheless this unfounded suspicion carried the cry of "Death to Espartero," which was raised in Malaga with the speed of lightning, through the whole of Spain, and struck with the strength of an earthquake the ears of him whose name it sounded, scattering his remaining friends, and driving himself to a precipitate flight to save his misguided countrymen from the great crime of staining their hands with his innocent blood.

It was not long before the enemies of the liberty of Spain achieved another victory, by obliging the liberal-minded Olozaga to seek for safety by a voluntary exile. The young Queen was by the Cortes authorized to take the reins of government into her inexperienced and childish hands; but Narvaez, a kind of military Dictator, became the person who exercised the greatest influence upon the Spanish affairs—still being influenced himself by the Cabinets of France and England, which, from circumstances now to be related, co-operated for the same object. The independence of Spain did no more exist in reality. It was made the means of serving the ambitious plans of a foreign prince.

Indignant at the policy pursued by M. Guizot, whose every step I dare to say I have closely watched, I wrote to the Editors of the New World a letter inserted in that paper the 22d of June 1844, in which I express myself in regard to the policy of that Minister in the following words—words which now have proved themselves to be prophetic. "*Is it becoming the deepest thinker of the present age, the great historian, the profound philosopher, the eulogist of Washington, to be the associate of the members of the Holy Alliance and of Sir Robert Peel, to keep the nations in ignorance and oppose their emancipation from political and spiritual thraldom? Indeed we cannot fail to feel deep sorrow on seeing so richly gifted a man as M. Guizot wasting his mental faculties in opposing the cause of humanity, and aiding the enemies of mankind in their diabolical attempts to blast the fruits of the ever memorable days of July* 1830.

"*But we may be assured, that the time will come when M. Guizot will have cause to regret the foul game he has played in Spain, and the violation of the rights of the French—which he has*

dared to satisfy his own selfishness and that of his royal master. The praise of Lord Brougham, also a deserter from the better cause, will then be drowned in the anathemas of the suffering nations; and surely few will then feel inclined to envy the lot of the now so powerful Minister of France.

"*Such will be the results of the acts of a man whose affability of manner has gained our hearts, but whose treachery to the cause of humanity must rouse in every generous mind the most bitter indignation.*"

These words, written when M. Guizot was in the zenith of his power, give me right now, when he is brought to that painful condition I predicted, to show generosity towards him without being suspected of approving his actions or fawning for his favor. I do despise those who abuse the fallen great man, after having lauded him to the skies in the time of his power, and when pursuing the blameable course which has wrought his ruin. Had M. Guizot condescended to listen to my voice, I am justified by the events to say that he would have saved himself many bitter remembrances, and gone down to posterity with unimpaired glory.

But I will resume the thread of my narrative, and trace the steps by which M. Guizot and his master arrived at their present fatal condition.

Nothing was of higher importance for Louis Philippe than to gain the favorable opinion of the English, because it would greatly facilitate his endeavor to induce the British Cabinet not to oppose his project of marriage between the Spanish Queen and one of his sons. There can be no doubt that he at first entertained the hope to realize this plan; but when he saw that it met with too many difficulties, he wished to make people believe that he had never harbored such a thought. Still there was nothing blameable in it, as it was very natural that he wished to forward the interest of his family, which was no injury to France; but in view to gain his aim he used means which we cannot but condemn. He had no right to attempt exercising any influence upon Spanish affairs; and he committed a great crime when he plotted the downfall of Espartero, who was so worthy to wield the authority which the Spanish Cortes had laid down in his hands.

It was generally known that Louis Philippe intended, during the summer of 1844, to pay the Queen of England a visit in London. It was pretended that this visit was nothing but what the king owed as a matter of courtesy, as the English Queen had visited France the preceding year; still there were many who were persuaded that Louis Philippe would use that occasion of acquiring popularity in England and forwarding his ambitious plans. Among those who entertained this opinion

was unquestionably the Emperor of Russia, who, in view to counteract the plan of Louis Philippe, resolved to visit England in person.

The autocrat, with all his apparent frankness, is a shrewd judge of men, and understands well how to impose upon them, to flatter their vanity, to gain their confidence, to excite their zeal and to make them subservient to his interests. Conscious of being the possessor of these qualities, and knowing the powerful effect of an imperial smile, and of the flattering words of so mighty a ruler, he came to England seemingly to pay homage to its youthful Queen, but in reality to prevent the realization of her hopes, to court her ministers, to advance his own designs, and to satisfy the furies of hatred and revenge within his breast. He came to prevent the expected visit of Louis Philippe, or at least to frustrate the endeavors of that monarch to gain popularity in England. He came to encourage the Tory party to stand firm to their old principles, to reward old friends, and to gain new ones; to assure the Peel Ministry of his high esteem and friendly sentiments, to persuade them that Russia is the natural ally of England, and France, on the contrary, its natural enemy, and to drop some insidious words tending to show his readiness to assist England should she find herself obliged to oppose—*as he thought she would do*—with arms the evidently ambitious plans of France. In a word, he came to England in view to frustrate all schemes of a close alliance between that country and France, and to make Great Britain the pay-master out of her own purse, and the ally of the three Great Despots when they would think fit to assail France.

But the visit which the Emperor of Russia in appearance paid the British Queen cannot be supposed to have been very pleasant to her. Can there be any sympathy between two hearts of which the one feels deeply for the miseries of mankind and the other seems to riot in cruelties? Can the dove rejoice at the sight of the bird of prey? Can the exterior beauty of the royal tiger make us forget its savage nature? Could the generous Victoria see the Russian Emperor without remembering the sufferings of his victims? and was it not natural that she would feel loathing at the presence of the inexorable tyrant?

Infatuated with self-love as the Emperor Nicholas is, he could hardly have concealed from himself the fact, that Queen Victoria would feel some embarrassment on receiving the visit of the deadly enemy of a king for whom she then entertained the greatest regard, and whom she was anxious to welcome as her honored guest. But accustomed to act without regard for the feelings of others, and sure to be received with all the formalities due to his rank, he cared not for the uneasiness and trouble which he caused a lady and a sovereign. This was no evidence of the

nice feelings and of the delicacy which were to be expected from a prince, who pretends to be a complete gentleman, and as we know, is provoked to fury by the smallest transgression against the prescribed etiquette at his own court.

Though the Czar did not gain all his objects by visiting England, there can be no doubt that, during his short stay there, he carried many points which his most skilful diplomatists would have attempted in vain. To his insinuations, is unquestionably to be attributed the hostile attitude which the English Cabinet, without any just cause, on a sudden assumed towards France. It is almost impossible that so cautious a statesman as Sir Robert Peel would, if not for some certain purpose, have been induced to use in the House of Commons on the Otaheite question, such expressions as might easily have caused a war with France, or made it necessary for him to resign his place. And when we take into due consideration the character of the man, the time, and certain facts, much sagacity is not necessary to see that the chief object of the dexterous premier was to show the Autocrat in the most acceptable way, that he was neither unmindful of his imperial majesty's suggestions, nor ungrateful for the flattering assurances of esteem and friendship, which the Czar had bestowed upon him. Besides, persuaded of the powerful aid of Russia, the British Premier was not ashamed to use language only fit for an impetuous and inconsiderate youth; because he knew well that it would be hailed by the unanimous applause of his whole party, and that it would make him the favorite of the mighty enemies of France. How posterity will judge Sir Robert Peel for having hazarded a war with France, for motives so selfish and mean, without any justifiable cause, is not difficult to determine.

It was nothing more than what was to be expected that the Emperor of Russia should be able to set on fire the hatred and the jealousy which lay glimmering within the breasts of the Tories against France. Therefore we had no reason to be surprised at the furious cries which that party after the Emperor's visit to England raised against France. But we could not without much sorrow observe how many of the popular party re-echoed these absurd bravadoes, and joined the enemies of the rights of the people, in menacing with the vengeance of combined Europe a nation which has so gloriously vindicated the sovereignty of the people. The pretences under which these clamors were raised against France, were too frivolous to be regarded even for a moment, as the real causes. The feverish state in which we then saw so great a part of the English nation, was undoubtedly produced by the machinations of foreign powers and the influence of the aristocratic party. The purpose was not an immediate war with France, but the wish to prevent the intended visit of

Louis Philippe to England, and to alienate from each other the two great nations whose mutual friendship, it was feared, would be productive at last of the establishment of constitutional governments everywhere in Europe.

The Russian Emperor not satisfied with all the sufferings he had already inflicted upon humanity, with having sacrificed heroic Poland to his vengeance, and populated Siberia with her noblest sons, and with carrying on a war of extirpation against the brave Caucasian mountaineers, scattered also his gold over England as a seed of discord, which might involve all Europe in a horrible war. But the time was come when he was himself to feel the agonies he had, with unrelenting severity, caused to vast numbers of his fellow beings. Sympathizing as we cannot but do for the father whom death deprived of a tenderly beloved and most amiable daughter, it is to be wished that the lacerated heart of the French monarch would prove itself, hereafter, more sensible to human sufferings.

The angry feelings manifested in England in consequence of the Otaheite question, and the visit of the Emperor of Russia to that country—it was generally supposed—would prevent Louis Philippe from realizing his intention of repaying the visit of Queen Victoria. But this sagacious politician knew better what would promote his interests, and what was due to the sincere feelings of friendship which the English Queen felt toward him, therefore accompanied by M. Guizot, he came to England and turned the general opinion completely in his favor. True it is, the aristocracy received him not very heartily, nor does he appear to have acquired many new friends among them, but he gained the affection of the English people in general, and confirmed the sentiments which Queen Victoria already entertained towards him. The most important acquisition, however, which he and M. Guizot together made, was the friendship of Lord Aberdeen —the then minister of Foreign Affairs—a man highly respected by all aristocrats throughout Europe, and a thorough aristocrat himself. But Lord Aberdeen's friendship is, undoubtedly, one of the chief causes of the ruin of the Orleans dynasty, because it opened to Louis Philippe the sure prospect of realizing a part of his ambition; but at the same time became the means of inducing him and M. Guizot to suppress yet more the democratic spirit in France, in view to acquire the friendship of the great European Cabinets and of the aristocratic party in general. There can be no doubt that M. Guizot was advised by Lord Aberdeen how to act in view to promote the interest of the Orleans dynasty; and it is but just to add, that M. Guizot appeared to have entertained the plausible opinion, that to promote the interest of that family was equivalent to promote the interest of France, and so it was in a political point of view; but M.

Guizot seems to have forgotten that there existed a surer and still more laudable means of rendering France powerful, that means being to promote the principles of democracy and the cause of freedom, and thus to gain the affection of the European people in general.

At the subsequent visit which Queen Victoria made to France, Lord Aberdeen accompanied her, and on this occasion it was decided that the Queen of Spain was to choose herself a husband, with the proviso that she was not to select one among Louis Philippe's sons—as this would possibly be a means of disturbing the so-called equilibrium of Europe, and was contrary to the old treaty of Utrecht, a treaty a hundred times transgressed; but on the other hand it was conceded to the king of France, the right to ask for the hand of the sister of the Queen of Spain for the Duke of Montpensier—with the proviso, that this marriage was not to take place until the Queen of Spain was married herself.

Meanwhile, it was clearly perceived that the French Cabinet began to pursue a policy more and more opposite to the wishes of the French people in general, and that the government was more desirous of acquiring the applause of the rulers of foreign nations than of the French themselves. The proud character of M. Guizot would not concede the least jot to the opposition, and perhaps, because, conscious of his wrong course he might therefore have been the more anxious of complete success as he knew well that in the eyes of the vulgar, it would be the most valid excuse. But the more dissatisfied the French began to be, the more copious was the praise bestowed upon M. Guizot in foreign countries. All the moneyed men and all those engaged in commercial pursuits, considered him as the surest pillar of the continuation of peace—caring no more than what the aristocrats by birth do for the welfare of mankind in general, and for the liberty of the masses, they paid their tribute of applause to that minister who promoted their sordid interests. M. Guizot was called in the German, English, and American papers, too, the *great* minister, and it was said that he and the *great* king of France were just the very men of whom the French stood in want, as the most able to subdue the violent passions and the mutinous spirit of that nation.

The policy pursued by the French Government at last acquired for it the friendship of almost all the European Cabinets, and even of that of Russia; though the Emperor Nicholas appears to have maintained his personal dislike of the King of France. This success induced M. Guizot still more to oppose the just claims of the friends of liberty among the French; therefore, though supported by the wealthy men of France, and by the majority of the Chambers, it was easy for every one who visited that country during the latter part of 1846, and in the course of the

last year, and who took pains to investigate this matter, to perceive that M. Guizot, as well as his master, had lost their former popularity and that neither of them was longer loved by the mass of the people.

Meanwhile a change had also happened in the friendly relations which had existed between the French and the English Cabinets, the cause of which I will here briefly allude to.

At the formation of the present Whig ministry Lord Palmerston became as we know, minister for the foreign affairs of England. But it was soon made evident that the king of France and M. Guizot either harbored the suspicion that Lord Palmerston would attempt to prevent the marriage between the Spanish Infanta, the sister of the Queen of Spain, and the Duke of Montpensier, or that they would by surprise repay him the secresy with which he had signed the treaty of July, 1840. Be this as it will, the wish to see one of the French princes married with a Spanish princess was realized with much adroitness. Louis Philippe and M. Guizot with the aid of Queen Christina managed it so well that the marriages between the Spanish Queen and her cousin, and the younger princess of Spain and the Duke of Montpensier, were celebrated at the same time and with such haste that Lord Palmerston was unquestionably taken by surprise. The anger which this minister manifested at this event, was undoubtedly in part caused by the evidence the king of France and M. Guizot had thus given of the distrust they harbored towards him. There had been much dispute on which side justice was in this affair. I am on my part of the opinion that justice was unquestionable on the side of the king of France and M. Guizot. It is in vain to tell us that this marriage was contrary to the treaty of Utrecht. That treaty broken a hundred times can surely not be considered valid; besides, such is the literal sense of the paragraph alluded to in, that treaty, that the marriage of the Spanish Infanta with the Duke of Montpensier was no infringement of it. The English ministers had no right to mix themselves in the Spanish affairs. It belonged to none but the Spanish people to look out that nothing was done contrary to their true interests. The marriage of the Duke of Montpensier with the Spanish princess was nowise injurious to France, consequently the French had no cause to be displeased with it. On the contrary, it might be reasonable to hope that that marriage would be a means of strengthening the power of France. Here we have the cause of all the angry feelings manifested in England with that marriage. The English, conscious, in spite "of what shallow politicians and ignorant journalists" may say of the superior power of France, have always manifested,* and did even on the occasion alluded

* This their great historian, Mr. Hume, admits.

to, manifest much jealousy against the French, and hatred towards Louis Philippe and M. Guizot—who from being lauded in the most flattering terms, now became the objects of all possible invectives.

I think that the opinion which M. Thiers, as well as "Le Constitutionnel," his supposed organ, espoused, was just; that the marriage itself between the Spanish Infanta and the Duke of Montpensier, was justifiable and defensible, but that the French Cabinet and the king himself had not treated Lord Palmerston and the English Cabinet, and perhaps even Queen Victoria, with becoming courtesy. It must be admitted that in this respect Lord Palmerston had just cause to be displeased with the French Cabinet, and I cannot forbear to think that Louis Philippe as well as M. Guizot wished to take revenge upon him for his conduct in regard to the so-called Eastern Question, and that they also might have hoped to involve him in such difficulties that he would find himself obliged to resign—and if this was their object it was very nearly attained; because the enemies of Lord Palmerston within England, and even some members within the English Cabinet itself, did all in their power to cause his resignation. But supported by the friendship of Lord Russell, and aided by his eminent qualities, Lord Palmerston overcame the intrigues of his external as well as of internal adversaries. His triumph was the more glorious, as all the aristocrats throughout all Europe hate him, and consider him as a deserter from their cause, and a person too much desirous of acquiring popular favor.

Louis Philippe and M. Guizot acted, unquestionably, very unwise in irritating such an able diplomat as Lord Palmerston, in running the risk of losing the friendship of Queen Victoria and in rousing the jealousy of the English. It was a flagrant error because the power of the Orleans family in France depended in a great part upon the general opinion among the French that Louis Philippe himself was the surest guarantee for the lasting friendship between France and England—which friendship was justly considered as of the highest importance for both France and England. The French people, therefore, when they saw that Louis Philippe had run the risk of incurring the enmity of England for the aggrandizement of his own family, and that he was no more a medium of friendship between them and the English, began in general to consider him as a superfluous person.

Still ere the marriage between the Duke of Montpensier and the Spanish Infanta had taken place, a part of the opposition within as well as without the Chambers, had vehemently blamed the French Cabinet for sacrificing the dignity and true interests of France in order to please the English Government. This re-

proach was in some respects not altogether undeserved. Consequently it became a new reproach against the Cabinet, and even against the King personally, that a friendship which had been so dearly bought was on the verge of being lost solely for the aggrandizement of the royal family. It is, however, but just to observe that Louis Philippe and his Ministers entertained unquestionably also the hope that France itself would reap much benefit from the nearer connexion between the royal families of that country and of Spain. This hope cannot be said to have been altogether unfounded, though on the other hand it may be objected that no reliance can be placed on family connexions between royal houses, as history evidently proves that such hopes have a hundred times been totally frustrated.

The most eminent leaders of the opposition, however, blamed not the government for the marriage itself, but for the manner in which it had been brought about, and for the discourtesy shown to Lord Palmerston. The opinion which M. Thiers on this occasion pronounced was really that of a great statesman, and at the same time proved that he entertained no rancour against Lord Palmerston, nor any desire to injure M. Guizot.

Though, in truth, there was no room for the French to be displeased with the Spanish marriage, it was nevertheless made by the enemies of the King and his Cabinet a means of depriving them of a great share of the popularity they had before enjoyed. But in the same proportion as the Government began to lose the confidence of the French people, in the same proportion it showed itself anxious to gain the friendship of the great Cabinets of Europe; but as the animosity which, in consequence of the Spanish marriage, had arisen between Lord Palmerston on the one side and M. Guizot on the other, had alienated England and France from each other, the French Cabinet showed itself so much more ready to court, by every means possible, the friendship of just those powers who hated the French people. This became evident from the policy pursued in regard to Switzerland and Italy, and from the steps taken against some of the Polish exiles, who had sought an asylum in France; and still more palpable from the stubbornness and even scorn with which the Cabinet opposed the just claims of the popular party in regard to the electoral reform, which had many able advocates within the Chamber of Deputies, and among them principally Messieurs P. Duvergier de Hauranne and Remusat. But instead of listening to the voices that advanced the rights of a generous nation, the French Ministers shut their ears, and supported by the majority of the Chamber of Deputies—a majority elected solely by the influence of the moneyed men of France—they frustrated all the attempts of the popular party to enlarge the right of election. We must here observe, that the constitution of France was so faulty, that there

existed among a population of more than 34,000,000 only about 200,000 electors.

The success with which all the violent attempts against Louis Philippe had been frustrated, had made no less the King than his Ministers too sanguine, that no outbreak of popular displeasure could shake the stability of his government. Consequently they neglected proper opportunities of gaining popularity at home; and were only concerned how to avert every attempt from abroad on the death of the King to prevent his grandson from inheriting the throne. It must be admitted that the policy pursued in regard to foreign powers was very successful, and that Louis Philippe and M Guizot had been able to reconcile the members of the Holy Alliance and the aristocratic party with the dynasty of July, 1830. But on the other hand, without their own knowledge, they lost every day more ground within France, and augmented the number of displeased Frenchmen in the same proportion as they rose in estimation in the eyes of the foreign Cabinets. The friendship of the bitter enemies of France was preferred to the love of the most generous and chivalrous people in the world. It is evident that the throne of Louis Philippe from that time stood upon a too frail foundation. How was it possible that men so sagacious as Louis Philippe and M. Guizot could deceive themselves so grossly? Providence made them blind in order to prepare the way for a better social state in Europe. We may be allowed to entertain this joyous hope.

Still the French Cabinet was able, supported as it was by the majority of the Chambers and by the great talents of M. Guizot and M. Duchâtel—the only men of superior qualities after the resignation of Marshal Soult, among the French Ministers—to withstand the vigorous attacks upon the administration by the gifted leaders of the opposition within the Chambers. It suffered, however, somewhat in the public estimation by the detection of the corrupt practices of M. Teste and General Cubieres, ex-ministers of the same Cabinet; but no suspicion was ever entertained that M. Guizot was implicated in these blameable transactions, or that he had in the least degree made himself unworthy of the fair fame he enjoyed for unsullied morality.

Meanwhile the great majority of the French, the Germans, and the Italians had arrived at the full conviction that they were kept in a state of bondage, which was unworthy of rational beings. The freedom enjoyed by the French was very great in proportion with what the aristocrat and priest-ridden people of England ever have tasted, and much greater than that of which the Germans and Italians were in possession. Among the latter, however, had suddenly arisen a noble champion of the rights of man in the very person of the present Pope. Every generous heart beats with sympathy for this worthy disciple of Christ. Still the French Govern-

ment seemed disinclined to assist him in his glorious attempts to regenerate Italy. Even the liberal party in Switzerland was soon aware that it could not rely on the aid of France. M. Guizot and his master were too anxious to preserve the friendship of the crowned servants who had dared to usurp the power which solely belonged to their sovereigns, the people themselves. Lord Palmerston, happily for his own glory, pursued a different course of policy, and showed himself as the friend of those who advocated the sacred rights of man. They were soon to earn the different fruits in accordance with the different kind of seed they had sown. While Louis Philippe and M. Guizot had to seek safety in a precipitate flight from the vengeance of a people they had driven to violence, it is yet in the power of Lord Palmerston to earn an immortal name in the cause of suffering humanity.

But having outstripped the events, we will take a retrospective view of the immediate causes which produced these unexpected results.

The French nation had for some time been divided into five great parties.

First. The Conservative Party, which was lately in possession of power, and which was headed by M. Guizot. The members of this party consisted chiefly of the moneyed men of France and of those who thought that the French were in the enjoyment of as great a share of liberty as was necessary for them, and safe to established order. This party was sincerely attached to the King, as they considered him the surest guarantee of the stability of their own prerogatives and lasting influence upon the public affairs. It was on this party that M. Guizot chiefly relied, and by the aid of which he had been able to preserve his place for so many years. It constituted in fact the aristocracy of France, and was infected with all the prejudices which are common to all aristocrats. They felt no sympathy for the mass of the people, and cared more for their own personal interests than for those of the nation in general.

Second. The constitutional, or as they were called, the Dynastic opposition, because, though opposed to the policy pursued by the existing Cabinet, they were friends of the Orleans dynasty, but at the same time, advocates of necessary reforms and of the obligation of the government, to listen to the just claims of the people and to realize those hopes which were built upon the revolution of 1830 This party was headed by Messieurs Thiers and Odilon Barrot, and was composed of men, who were the only fit to preserve the monarchy, and at the same time, meet the wishes of the majority of the French.

Third. The Legitimists—headed by the talented M. Berryer—the greatest living orator. This party viewed Louis Philippe as an usurper, and accounted it for their greatest glory, that they

had sought for no favors of a man, who had violated his faith against his lawful sovereign, and whose death, they hoped would give opportunity for the elder branch of the Bourbons once more to ascend the throne of France. This party was mostly composed of the old aristocracy of France; but was almost powerless as they met with no sympathies among the mass of the people.

Fourth. The old Republican party, composed chiefly of journalists, young *littérateurs*, lawyers, officers, and as the London Quarterly Review justly says, of the grandsons of the Jacobins and the sons of the Bonapartists—they were, indeed, not so few as the Tory principled Review just alluded too, imagines—but still I am willing to concede the truth of these words, that "they were particularly formidable for their intelligence, activity, zeal, and discipline—and the watch words of Republic and Bonaparte —which prophetic pledges assured them of great weight and authority in any agitation that might arise." Their most prominent leaders were Dupont de l'Eure, an old lawyer of the first revolution, the learned Arago, and Garnier Pagès, in the Chamber of Deputies; and Marrast and his colleagues of the National.

Fifth. This party was composed of the most discordant elements. It numbered among its members many generous and philanthropic souls, but also, a great number of unprincipled and bad characters. The Communists constituted its chief part—whose views, as we know, border at once on the most sublime conceptions and the most crazy visions. Some of them entertain the loftiest ideas, and others again, are hoping for the realization of their sordid wishes. They number among them, men who advocate a kind of community of property—that labor and its produce should be in partnership—that competition should be abolished, and work and wages so distributed and regulated by the state, as to equalize the condition of each individual in the community. To which was added a theorem—practically attempted after the last revolution—that the claims of labor are not satisfied by wages, but that the workman is entitled to a proprietary share in the capital which employs him. Advocating such principles, it was no wonder that this party numbered a great many workmen among them. This party, seemingly busied in combinations relative to hours of labor, rates and wages, prices of task-work, &c., were ready banded and disciplined for any political purposes in which they by circumstances might be called upon to participate. Wronged and injured as the laboring classes had been by the preponderating influence of wealth, it is not to be wondered that they were ready to seek for alleviation, and though we may be obliged to laugh at their simplicity and ignorance of national economy, we cannot but sympathize for their sufferings and feel assured that they had right to seek for redress. One of their chief leaders was M. Louis

Blanc, who, in 1839 had published a little work called "Organization du Travail,"—in which he attributes all the woes and misery of the world exclusively to *the competition for work*—and in which he proves himself an altogether incompetent judge on the very subject he had undertaken to treat on. He had also written another work called, "Histoire de Dix Ans,"—in which he displays, undoubtedly, much knowledge and even talent; but in which he also proves himself to be in want of that experience which is necessary for a man, who aspires to play the part of a practical statesman. Besides M. Louis Blanc and other journalists of the *Reforme;* there was had also a leader of this party in the Chamber, in the person of M. Ledru-Rollin. This party was, however, in general, composed of respectable men, but had also a great number of members, among whom, also, were many foreigners of the most reckless, violent, and depraved character.

The government of France could thus only rely upon the support of a porportionally very small minority. The king had lost his popularity among the mass of the people, and the army entertained but indifferent feelings towards him. His eldest son—the Duke of Orleans, who had many qualities which had made him dear to the people, was by a deplorable accident, dead. The Duke of Nemours was not endowed with the affability of manners, nor with those liberal and elevated sentiments which could make him the favorite of Frenchmen, though he is a man of much courage. The Prince of Joinville was a real Frenchman in heart—but was not in Paris at the time, when perhaps, his presence would have saved the throne of his father.

In this state of affairs, the French Cabinet had the imprudence to declare that they were resolved to forbid the celebration of the so-called Reform Banquet—which in itself was no illegal act, though it might have had the tendency of inflaming the people with more ardent feelings for a more enlarged freedom. In spite of the warnings which many of the ablest men among the opposition within the Chamber of Deputies uttered, M. Guizot as well as M. Duchatel scornfully answered that they would use force if necessary in order to maintain the resolution which the Cabinet had taken. Though the leaders of the opposition, and the most influential members within the Chambers, declared their intention not to be present at the Banquet alluded to, in order to prevent any violent conflict between the government and its adversaries, M. Odilon Barrot and some other members of the opposition at last thought them justified in impeaching the Ministers.

This was the signal for the revolution of February. Though M. Guizot opposed a calm countenance to the attacks within the Chamber, he saw that to defeat his enemies without—the most vigorous measures were necessary, and which, he therefore

recommended should be taken. Louis Philippe, however, who on so many other similar occasions, but mark—*when he had a better cause to defend*—had proved himself so courageous and energetic, was on the contrary, at this important crisis, vacillating and timorous, as if his conscience had told him that he was in the wrong. He attempted by the sacrifice of M. Guizot and his colleagues to dissipate the thunder-clouds that were gathering round his throne; but instead of calling at once to his aid the talents of M. Thiers, he lost time by entrusting Count Molé with the formation of a new Ministry. Though the news of the resignation of the Guizot ministry was received with joy, the appointment of Count Molé as Prime Minister did not satisfy the wishes of the Parisians. The command over the regular troops which numbered no more than about 40,000 men in Paris and its vicinity, was meanwhile upon the advice of M. Guizot, committed into the hands of Marshal Bugeaud; who declared himself confident of being able to defeat all violent attempts of the people against the king's authority. There can be very little doubt, that this experienced warrior would have been able to accomplish his purpose, though he could not depend but upon the regular army, and perhaps two thirds of the national guard, that will leave say about 80,000 men in all. The national guard numbered about 60,000 men, but a third part thereof belonged either to the fourth or fifth of the parties already mentioned, and it cannot reasonably be supposed that they would have permitted themselves to have been made the instruments of defeating those with whom they associated in views and wishes.

The king, however, was soon made aware that Count Molé would not answer his purpose, and took consequently the resolution to send for M. Thiers, who, on the promise of the king to associate with him in the ministry M. Odilon Barrot, declared himself ready to form a new ministry and soothe the resentment of the Parisians. But as he at the same time declared himself unwilling to permit Marshal Bugeaud to execute the nightly assault upon the barricades and their defenders as was his avowed intention; the king yielded also in this respect to the wishes of M. Thiers, and appointed his brother-in-law, General Lamoricière to the chief command of the troops.

But two days had meanwhile been lost, the republican party aided by the communists and a great number of those foreigners that dwelt in Paris, had gained more confidence, and though at first only aiding the Dynastic opposition to overthrow the Guizot Cabinet, they had grown confident that the time was come when there was great hope that success would follow a bold attempt to establish a republic. The results proved that they had good reason for such an opinion, still they owe their victory unquestionably to the circumstance that M. Thiers

prevented Marshal Bugeaud from executing his plan, which, in a military point of view was excellent, but which would have caused the loss of thousands of human lives, and have inflicted a deplorable and deep wound upon the cause of freedom.

M. Thiers as well as M. Odilon Barrot are called in that able, but thoroughly aristocratic English Review already alluded to, weak men; because they would not buy victory with streams of blood, nor surround the throne of Louis Philippe with thousands of slaughtered bodies of the friends of freedom. Their attempt to support the Orleans dynasty, was, as we know, fruitless, but not in consequence of any inability on their part, but from the cause that the king had tarried too long to seek for their aid. The triumph of the republican party must not be viewed as a defeat of those principles, whose advocates M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot were. The republican party can nowise be said to be more friends of freedom than those are who advocate a constitutional monarchy. It proves only ignorance to think that republics always have been the asylums of freedom, or monarchies the home of tyranny. The majority of the people of Rome enjoyed no enviable freedom. Nor is an American citizen more free than an inhabitant of Norway.

We who have for a long series of years advocated the freedom of the people and the just claims of every man to enjoy his natural rights, have surely a right to glory in the triumph the cause of freedom has won in France; but we have also a right to warn the people of Europe against those demagogues, who have nothing in view but the realization of their own sordid interests. We know our duty; but we will first say a few words of the known enemies of freedom.

Neither Louis Philippe nor M. Guizot can justly be reproached for any despotic act, strictly speaking; but they deserved the fate which befel them in consequence of having attempted to oppose the just claims of the French, and frustrating the hopes which in 1830 were kindled in the heart of every friend of freedom. We cannot deplore their downfall, and we have a right to rejoice in the triumphs of the cause of freedom. Still we ought not to load them with any undue reproaches. We ought to remember, that the enemies of freedom do also feel joy in the misfortune which has happened to these eminent men; because they consider them as justly punished for their desertion in 1830 from their ranks, and for their adherence then to the popular cause. Victorious as we are, we ought to be generous, and ought not to abuse men whose errors are trifling in comparison with the great crimes against humanity which those have committed, who are powerful enough to deprive us of the advantages which we may justly hope to earn in consequence of the glorious victory won by the heroic people of Paris. We ought to remember, that little

is done as yet, and take care that our enemies will not cheat us as they did after the revolution of 1830.

The most formidable enemy to the freedom of the people of Europe is undoubtedly the Russian Emperor. Still his gigantic stature, his handsome face, his sonorous voice, his commanding look, his energy, his firmness, his activity, his insinuating affability, and his household virtues, induce many to forget his awful revengefulness, his insensibity to human sufferings, and his implacable hatred to popular rights. The rich gifts nature has bestowed upon him, his accomplishments, and his private virtues, have become the veil of his cruel actions, and the means of diminishing the indignation which his unrelenting severity and his outrages against humanity naturally arouse in every noble heart. But though it is our duty to make fair allowance for the frailty of human nature and the strong temptation of uncontrolled power, we greatly err if we regard a stately figure, an attractive countenance, a vigorous mind, an engaging deportment and gravity of manner, as apologies for the barbarous treatment of millions of human beings. Indeed the man whose heart seems open to all the endearments of domestic life, and still inflicts indescribable miseries on thousands of families, guilty of no crime, and who sends thousands of unhappy Poles to perish in the Ural mines, their sons to wash the rocks of the Caucasus with their blood, their wives to beg their bread, and their daughters to the camps—is the more to be dreaded, as his cruelty is not a passion but a principle. Persuaded that he is acting rightly, he feels no repentance, but triumphs in the agonies of his victims.

If the Emperor Nicholas were a tyrant, destitute of every virtue, and of an ungovernable temper, he would, like the madman Constantine, his brother, soon exhaust the patience of human endurance. Hatred and contempt would bring home to him due punishment for the unjustifiable cruelties he has committed against so many of his fellow-beings; and there would be no necessity to draw him before the bar of public opinion to make his real character known, to rouse against him the general indignation of mankind, and to warn the friends of freedom against his ambitious machinations. But being endowed with so many qualities worthy of a great monarch, and subjecting his revenge and enmity to reason, he inspires generally more awe than aversion, and intimidates even more than exasperates those who are the objects of his anger.

It is to this able and powerful monarch all the petty tyrants of Europe now look for assistance. Nothing would cause more rejoicing to the majority of the European Princes and all the aristocratic party, than that this modern Attila would take the resolution to inundate Europe with his barbarous hosts. Should this take place, we will see how many of those who now have

assumed the mask of being the friends of freedom, would hasten to avow their real sentiments, and gather around the Russian standards.

Next to the Emperor of Russia, the Tories of Great Britain are the most to be dreaded among the enemies of freedom;—but for them the revolution of 1789 would have produced by far more beneficial results than it did. The chief members of this powerful party consists of the majority of the great lords of Great Britain and the clergy of the English Church. These proud noblemen, and intolerant and narrow minded prelates, are the most inveterate enemies of liberty. The former equally insolent, as they with few exceptions, are stupid and ignorant, feast, generally speaking, every day at luxurious banquets, and many of them are every evening throwing forth mountains of gold on the gaming tables, and are not ashamed to lavish precious jewels and diamonds upon seduced beauty or abandoned prostitutes. The latter, who in everything, are the very opposites to the weak and benevolent teachers of the sublime doctrine of mutual love, are chiefly concerned in chaining the reason of the English people, in order to fleece them to their very ribs. The Tories in general, think no means unfit, if by it they can gain their purposes. Cruelty, inhumanity, hypocricy, violation of every principle of justice or rule of decency, flatteries and menaces are used promiscuously to obtain their aims. The Tories are they who chiefly breed the thieves and prostitutes who lurk in the streets of the cities of England; and they are the very men who fill the prisons of Great Britain with criminals, and populate the islands of the Pacific Ocean with transported wretches. First, they impoverish the husband, then they seduce his wife and his daughters, and when their victims in despair and distress have committed offences, often of little importance in a moral point of view, they cause inhuman punishments to be inflicted upon them by virtue of barbarous laws. How the Irish have been treated by the Tories, is known all over the civilized world. Do not the lamentations of the oppressed sons of the *Gem of the Sea*, resound from every part of the globe? Are we not daily seeing the generous children of Erin coming across the Atlantic's waves to seek a refuge in the bosom of America? Do not the Tories scatter their gold everywhere over Europe in aid of despotism, while half the population of England is starving? What is the celebrated liberty of the English, but the liberty of the aristocracy and the priesthood to rob the people—not only of the last penny, but also of every social amusement. After having spent the six days of the week at the theatres, at splendid *routs* and in debaucheries, the seventh day is welcomed as a day of rest. The laboring classes, who scarcely enjoy an hour's leisure, during the six working days, would probably be very pleased, after having on the Sun-

day forenoons, paid their devotion in the churches to the Supreme Being, to spend the afternoons of the same day, in some social amusements. But the nobility wish not to be disturbed in their sleep, and the priests are anxious to display their oratorical talents, and prove their zeal in the service of the master they pretend to serve, and therefore, all public amusements are prohibited on Sunday in Great Britain. It is this hypocritical pretence, this violation of man's liberty which drives hundreds of thousands of the laboring classes to the grogshops, and a no less number of clerks, journeymen, apprentices, and other young men to the houses, where faded beauty and corrupted virtue take ample revenge upon them for the broken promises, and the perjuries of their seducers—the high-born sons of the aristocracy.

Thus the aristocrats of England, are not only the enemies of freedom, but of humanity also. The effect of their influence has been deplorable to Europe in general, but particularly for England. The riches which they possess have been the means by which they have been and are still able to do so much mischief. By this means they corrupt the English press, and make many of the most talented men, not only of England, but also of other countries, the instruments of carrying their aims, which is to delude the English people and all other nations. Thus it happens, that while the great majority of the English themselves, and all the Irish are suffering oppressions, more grievous than any other people of Europe—perhaps the Poles excepted—deceived and ignorant men of all nations extol the freedom of England, and that even the people of Great Britain, in the midst of their agonies, think that they enjoy a far greater liberty than all other European nations. I solemnly assert, that were the government of Sweden and Norway to attempt, only for a single month, to treat the people of those countries in the same way as the people of Great Britain are treated, the Swedes and the Norwegians would soon take bloody revenge upon their oppressors. Never was there a more systematic mode of oppressing a people, than that, which, during the lapse of centuries has been introduced into England. There does not exist any freedom—but for the aristocracy and the wealthy.

The English papers have called the Parisians the bravest people in the world because they overthrew the throne of Charles X. and Louis Philippe—are we to infer that the people of London are the greatest cowards in the world because they lately shrank before the armed force opposed to them? surely not. It was not the strength of their adversaries but the defection in their own ranks which intimidated them. We do not approve of all the principles of the Chartists, still we must concede that their cause is just. We do not wish to see them deluge London with the blood of the aristocracy, but we wish that they had

compelled their oppressors to give them a fair hearing. It was not the strength of their enemies that made them the laughing-stock of the world, but their poverty which induced them to take the gold the aristocracy offered them. Nine tenths of the Chartists were unquestionably bribed, and we must excuse the poor fellows who took money and bought bread for their starving children rather than hazard their lives in a perilous attempt—still we must regret that they were not more clear sighted. They had it in their power to compel the haughty aristocracy and the wealthy prelates to agree to their just claims, and then the morrow would have given them bread enough. Still if the laboring classes of England and the Irish people understand well their true interests, they will acquire the freedom which they have long been falsely told that they possessed; but which they have never been allowed to taste. If they join their hands they are irresistible, and but little force will be wanting to induce the aristocracy to accede to their just claims; and if the Whig ministers put themselves sincerely at the head of the popular party, they will acquire the immortal glory of having saved Great Britain from the horror of a revolution which else sooner or later will deluge the United Kingdom with streams of blood. I do not doubt that Lord John Russell has the generous character which such a conduct requires; but there is now reason to suppose that he is in want of that energy which is no less necessary for heading such a movement. Should he really want this quality, he ought to give place to Lord Palmerston who surely has energy enough, and if I am not much mistaken, also the ambition of earning such an imperishable glory.

But should the people of Ireland and the laboring classes of England be induced to take a hostile attitude towards each other, then the triumph of the Tories is certain, and no less the latter than the former will have to submit to their iron yoke. Should the laboring classes of England and the Irish be so unwise as to take a hostile attitude towards each other, then they will prepare the way for the victory of their common enemies, and will for a long time have to bewail their folly. May the Irish as well as the English people bear in mind that there is nothing to justify them to bear animosity to each other, that they have the same Father in heaven, the same rights as his children; that he has endowed them with reason; and that they therefore are answerable to him and to *him alone* for their actions, and ought not to permit themselves to be induced to shed each others' blood in the cause of haughty aristocrats and hypocritical priests, as they may be assured that the one as well as the other of these privileged classes have no other aim in view than to prey upon them.

The triumph of the Tories of Great Britain is the more to be

dreaded as they will then be enabled to scatter their gold over Europe in order to enable the enemies on the Continent to resist with more vigor the attempts of the friends of freedom to propagate this noble cause. We may be assured that though the aristocratical party over all Europe was stunned at first at the news of the French revolution, they will now prove that they are not inclined without a hard struggle to give up their prerogatives and descend to the rank of citizens. The conduct of the king of Prussia is at least very suspicious, and I do not hesitate to say that I think that he would be glad to see the Emperor of Russia with a formidable army at hand, to impress upon the minds of the Berlinians the lesson, not soon to be forgotten, that kings are the delegates of God and not of the people.

The contest now going on between the Danes and the Germans is the more to be deplored as it is but a trick of the German princes to divert the attention of the people of Germany from their internal affairs, and to breed jealousy and hatred between the people themselves, who, it was feared, would else have joined their strength against their rulers. The war between the Italians and the Austrians is another very deplorable circumstance, as whatever the result may be, the power of the princes will probably thereby be strengthened.

Freedom would surely win an easy victory over despotism were it not for the folly of the people themselves, who on the instigation of their common enemies, like madmen, spill each others' blood, and glory in victories which prolong slavery.

It proves only great ignorance of the true state of Europe, to imagine that the power of the privileged classes is yet annihilated. I am on the contrary fully convinced that it will cost vast effusions of blood, ere the cause of freedom will be triumphant, and I predict its defeat, unless the European people display no less wisdom than energy. May it be remembered that freedom can flourish under the garb of monarchy as well as of that, but that there exists no freedom where the sovereign power is not in the hands of the people.

We have, however, good reason to entertain much hope that the cause of humanity is now about to acquire a signal triumph. Heroic France has again risen in vindication of the sacred rights of man. Experience has taught her wisdom, and her superior intelligence has told her that she would gain little by the change of the forms of government, unless she accomplishes a social reform. Standing, as she does, at the head of a republic of civilization, and populated as she is by the most enlightened people in the world, she is the most rife for such a reform, and is almost the only one that understands what is meant by it. She has shaken off the yoke by which the priesthood in so many other countries still

subdue the minds of the people, and she is not ambitious, by hypocrisy, to gain the reputation of being religious. She knows how to worship God without kneeling before his pretended servants. She gives all her children equal rights, but she has also taught them all the elegance of manners and the social accomplishments which prevents equality from being a patent for boorishness or tiresome familiarity. Her laws, excelling as they do, those of almost all other nations, are not difficult to amend in conformity with the claims of reason and of humanity. Her rich soil, her genial climate, and the temperate habits of her inhabitants, and their fondness for social amusements, make her a fit home of happiness and joy. It is thus to be hoped that she will become an example which all nations will do well to imitate. Still she has yet many obstacles to overcome, and many are the dangers by which she is surrounded. Her affairs are at present in feeble hands. Much as we admire the brilliant genius, the ardent eloquence, and the noble sentiments of M. de Lamartine, he surely appears not to be the man who is able to wrest unhappy Poland from the strong hands of the Emperor of Russia, to secure freedom to Italy, and to aid the popular movements in Germany. Nor does M. Louis Blanc seem to be endowed with that experience and wisdom which would qualify him for accomplishing the social reform of France. As regards M. Ledru Rollin, I cannot forbear expressing my conviction that he is a man who bears in his character more the similarity of a despot than of a true friend to freedom. From M. Marrast I think we may justly expect something good, and I would not be surprised to see him playing an important part in the future events of France.

But France is now in want of an able and firm statesman, who will know how to make the most proper use of all her resources, and to put her in such a situation that she may be able to aid the friends of freedom in all parts of Europe, and to collect around her standards all those who are desirous to make valid their rights as rational beings. It is a vain hope to think that the great question now at stake can be decided without bloodshed. The sword is drawn, and it will not rest in the scabbard until freedom or despotism shall have triumphed. Precious time has been lost, and it is to be feared that Austria will have defeated the Italians, and the approach of the hosts of Russia have inspired the German Princes with a resolution not to yield to the wishes of the people of Germany, until France shall have assumed that att tude which will make her voice heard at the Council Boards of Vienna and Berlin, and stop the advance of the Russian army. It is not solely by good wishes that France can discharge the grave mission that Providence has evidently committed to her; but it is to be done by the most vigorous and generous acts. It were the most cruel and damnable policy France

could pursue, were she to permit Austria to frustrate the hopes of the Italians, or the German Princes to cheat again their people with false promises, or Poland longer to remain the victim of Russian tyranny. I cannot think for a moment that France would so cruelly disappoint our just expectations, and sure I am that she possesses at least one statesman who will never be the accomplice in so cowardly and mean a policy. It is in vain to tell us that it would be philanthropy to avoid bloodshed, and to permit half of Europe to be enslaved again. France has not to fear defeat. She is strong in herself, and stronger by the just cause which she will have to defend. She also knows that on the Baltic shores there beat the heroic hearts of warrior nations, and that Scandinavia stands prepared to bleed again in the cause of oppressed humanity.

If my most ardent wishes and inmost hopes are not deceived, I shall have the indescribable pleasure before I bring to a close the Universal History, now in course of publication, to do justice to those heroic men who will yet achieve the freedom of the nations of Europe, and gain an immortal name by laurels won in the holiest of causes.

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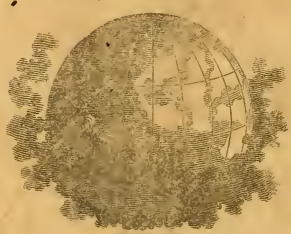
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